Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-171 *4 September 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Lobov: Nuclear Potential 'Under Strict Control'

LD3108125591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet nuclear potential is under strict control in the country. This has been said in an interview to newsmen by the chief of the General Staff of the country's armed forces, Vladimir Lobov, following the concern expressed by the world public about the state of the potential in the Soviet Union and the reliability of its control.

Safe storage, transportation, and on-duty service of the warheads, said Vladimir Lobov, is guaranteed by the multistate system of control.

The system includes not only technical but also biophysical principles. The chief of the General Staff ruled out flatly any possibility of the nuclear blackmail in case of code stealing.

Zagladin Discusses Control of Nuclear Missiles

LD3108130691 Berlin ADN in German 1147 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The Soviet Union intends to prevent with extra keys putschists from being able to unleash a nuclear catastrophe. Vadim Zagladin, foreign policy adviser to Soviet President Gorbachev, told BILD AM SONNTAG: "We shall make the control system even more secure and build in not only three but five keys."

Even during the coup a nuclear strike was ruled out. Zagladin said: "Our control system for firing nuclear missiles hitherto made it impossible. Not only the commander-in-chief but two other controllers were necessary to fire the missiles."

According to Western secret services' information, Soviet nuclear weapons are firmly under the control of the new people in power, Willy Wimmer, parliamentary state secretary at the Federal Defense Ministry, confirmed to the newspaper: "Long before the failed coup Soviet nuclear weapons were being transferred step by step to the Russian Federation. The forces were currently transporting the remaining warheads into the area for which Boris Yeltsin holds political responsibility. The power over these officially remains with Soviet President Gorbachev. However, Russian President Yeltsin is apparently being increasingly included in the decision. It seems guaranteed that no other nuclear power will emerge in the East."

'Immediate' Tactical Nuclear Talks Proposed

LD0309000291 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow September 2 (TASS)—Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services Sam Nunn, now visiting Moscow, said in an interview with the CBS Television Network Washington and Moscow should consider the question of tactical nuclear weapons of each side.

He said land-based tactical nuclear weapons are probably a menace to both sides rather than a factor of stability.

German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke in the same vein in an interview to a CDF television programme. He admitted that urgent elimination of short-range nuclear missiles and atomic artillery ammunition is an urgent task. Genscher said these missiles are no longer of the same importance as they used to be, and the time has come to rid the world of them.

One should agree with these proposals. There are perhaps somewhat different reasons for the immediate opening of the talks on tactical nuclear weapons. It is believed in the West the main reason behind this concern is that Moscow may lose control over the Soviet nuclear arsenal and that during the disintegration of the USSR, its nuclear armaments may be taken over by individual republics. Such fears should be taken into consideration. It would not be bad if such fears prompted the beginning of talks.

However, there are considerations which dictate the need for the immediate opening of talks on the elimination of land-based tactical weapons. Such weapons are obviously unnecessary and useless in the present military-strategic situation which has undergone radical changes.

NATO armed forces and those of the USSR do not oppose each other directly. East-West relations are no longer confrontational. Moreover, they are switching to cooperation, and the likelihood of surprise attack from both sides is zero. Nothing has been left of the Western assertions that short-range nuclear weapons are being deployed to arrest the Soviet Union's breakthrough into Western Europe.

Disproportions in conventional armaments that may have a destabilising effect will be eliminated under the treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The permissible levels of such armaments will be considerably decreased.

The Soviet Union will soon have withdrawn its troops and armaments, including nuclear weapons, from eastern Europe.

The United States, for its part, dropped a number of provisions of "flexible reaction" concept which envisaged the use of short-range nuclear missiles. It also announced plans to give up the planned modernisation of its tactical missile Lance and nuclear artillery.

Thus it would be right to say there exists a solid base for a serious and constructive discussion on matters of the removal of nuclear confrontation as regards tactical missiles.

It should also be noted that some in the United States said recently that following the signing of the treaty on strategic offensive arms disarmament process exhausted itself and the sides are not inclined to resume negotiations soon. But experience upsets such likely calculations. It is necessary to ensure the continuity of disarmament since this is the only way towards strategic stability in the world.

Opinion Poll Taken on START Treaty Signing

OW0209063091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0613 GMT 02 Sep 91

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the "Data" news agency, on August 9-19 the National Public Opinon Studies Center took an opinion poll among 2,021 respondents all over the Soviet Union asking them: "Was the signing of the START Treaty in Moscow a success or a failure of the Soviet foreign policy?"

43 percent said it had been a success.

1 out of 10 had an opposite opinion.

47 percent did not answer.

Worldwide Issues

Reportage on Conference on 'Human Dimension'

Meeting May Be Postponed

LD3008222791 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, Anatoliy Chernyayev and Vladimir Petrovskiy, at the request of the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, on Friday met heads of embassies of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE].

They informed diplomats about the situation with a forthcoming CSCE conference on the human dimension scheduled for September 10, 1991 in Moscow and efforts taken to prepare it, including official and non-governmental activities.

The Soviet officials stressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to use the conference to make progress in human rights.

They noted the difficult political situation in the country may affect the agenda of the conference and hamper planned events.

They said the Soviet Union has not made any political decision to postpone the conference.

All foreign diplomats stressed their governments are interested that the conference be held as soon as possible and noted that favourable conditions have been created for activities of law enforcement organisations and journalists.

The diplomats expressed understanding of the difficult situation in the country and reasons that may postpone the conference in Moscow. However, they expressed hope it will be held as scheduled.

At a meeting on Monday, September 2, the Soviet side is expected to inform Western diplomats about the Soviet Union's decision.

Conference Not Postponed

LD3108204391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1856 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—In connection with reports regarding possible postponement of the Moscow CSCE conference on the human dimension, the Information Directorate of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has officially announced that the USSR Foreign Ministry assumes that the Moscow conference will be held as planned. Instructions were given accordingly to Soviet ambassadors in the capitals of the member countries of the Helsinki process on 30 August. The USSR Foreign Ministry and the Executive Secretariat are actively preparing for the forum.

At the same time, in view of the situation in the country, it was thought desirable to consult the other participants in the general European process regarding the situation surrounding the holding of the Moscow conference. On the USSR president's instructions, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Anatoliy Chernyayev, and Vladimir Petrovskiy held a meeting at the Kremlin with the heads of the embassies of CSCE member states.

At that meeting, says the announcement by the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, the representatives of the embassies were informed about the progress of preparations for the official part of the conference and of the parallel public events. No secret was made of the objective difficulties which the Soviet Union is now experiencing. All the heads of the embassies stressed their governments' interest in holding the conference as soon as possible. They expressed appreciation of the work done by the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Executive Secretariat, which meets the standards accepted in the CSCE. At the same time they expressed understanding of the existing difficulties and left it to the Soviet side to take the final decision on the timing of the conference. It is intended to hold another such consultative meeting early this week, probably on Monday.

Rights Group on Perceived 'Threat'

LD0109043691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 01 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet Information Center on Human Rights has released a statement expressing concern that the Moscow meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is scheduled to start on 10 September, has come under threat. If it does not take place, irreparable damage could be inflicted to the development of democracy in the country, in the opinion of the head of the center.

Despite the statement on 26 August in Moscow at the international UN seminar on human rights by Petrovskiy, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and the position of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Ministry of Foreign Affairs supporting the holding of the international forum at the appointed time, the decision of the Union Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the leadership of the country are still not known.

Timing of Meeting 'Extremely Important'

OW0309060491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At 15:00 on Monday the newly appointed First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy will tell ambassadors of countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe about the readiness of the Soviet side to hold the Moscow conference on the Human Dimension according to schedule. The decision was made by President Gorbachev and puts an end to the doubts about the opening of the conference on September 10.

IF [INTERFAX] was informed by the Foreign Ministry that despite the organizational and other difficulties of the Soviet side such a conference is extremely important now to give the process of democratization in the USSR international, as well as national guarantees. The ministry hoped that the opening ceremony of the conference would be attended by the foreign ministries of CSCE countries invited earlier, including U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Pankin Briefs CSCE Envoys

LD0209185291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin had a meeting today with the heads of diplomatic missions of the CSCE member states.

The minister announced USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to hold the Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension at the time previously scheduled, that is, from 10 September to 4 October this year. The opinions expressed by the USSR's partners in the Helsinki process were taken into acount when making the decision.

Boris Pankin stressed that, in light of the recent events in the USSR, the outbursts by antidemocratic and anticonstitutional forces and the decisive resistance offered to these by Soviet society, the conclusion was reached that the topicality of the Moscow conference devoted to human rights and the development of humanitarian cooperation is now particularly enhanced. The principles of democracy, supremacy of the law, and guaranteeing the human rights enshrined as the Europe-wide norms of the Paris Charter are now assuming a new quality and acuteness. What is involved here is the creation of reliable guarantees for implementing these principles. In this sense, one of the main lessons of the latest events in the USSR is that such guarantees can be effective only if they rest upon a basis that is not only national, but international as well. It has once again become clear: In spite of the importance of the principle of noninterference in internal affairs, the supremacy of human rights and basic freedoms is absolute and indisputable.

The envoys of the CSCE member states expressed on behalf of their governments profound satisfaction with the decision made by the USSR president. This is evaluated as a firm intention to pursue a policy of further strengthening the Helsinki process and of strengthening democracy in his own country and on the international level. The importance of opening the Moscow conference at foreign minister level was affirmed.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Senator Nunn's Visit to Moscow

Received by Shaposhnikov

LD0109181691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, today received Sam Nunn, member of the U.S. Senate and Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, at Nunn's request. Matters of mutual interest were discussed. The USSR Defense Ministry Press Center reported that the conversation passed in a frank and friendly atmosphere, imbued with a spirit of trust and mutual understanding.

Sees Volskiy

LD0209004691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1618 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy in the USSR, met today with Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee. Issues relating to the development of Soviet-American relations, economic aid to the Soviet

Union, and American business in conversion programs in the USSR were discussed.

Meets President Gorbachev

LD0209164491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Today, during the interval between meetings of the Congress, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev received U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, an acquaintance of long-standing. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid special emphasis on the vital importance, both for our peoples and for the whole world, of preserving the Union, in completely new forms, of course, while taking account of the proceseses which have unfolded in recent days, and, of course, of the mood of the people and the will of the republics themelves.

Interesting ideas were expressed in relation to the upcoming radical military reform.

The USSR president reiterated that control over nuclear weapons had not been lost during the days of the coup.

Briefed on Coup Events

LD0209165991 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—President Gorbachev today met U.S. Senator Sam Nunn.

Gorbachev described the reasons for his proposals submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies. He briefed on the coup aftermath.

Asked by the senator about possible moves by the United States and the West to safeguard democracy, human rights and help economic revival of the country, Gorbachev focused on the vital importance of retaining the Soviet Union for its peoples and the whole world, certainly in a new form and with due account of processes in the country, people's feelings and the will of republics.

The sides focused on military conversion, where there are broad opportunities for cooperation, which is important from the economic and international political points of view for strengthening interdependence and predictability in the countries' policy.

In connection with a forthcoming deep military reform in the Soviet Union, Nunn shared the U.S. experience. He spoke about U.S. laws on soldiers' rights.

Gorbachev said the new Soviet defence minister had already begun work on speeding up the reform on a new basis. Within its framework, laws will be passed on the rights of officers and soldiers, on protecting their honour and dignity and on material and social provision.

Gorbachev agreed that it is necessary to broaden military cooperation and create an integral programme for mutual military contacts, in which thousands of officers could take part.

The Soviet president again confirmed that the loss of control over nuclear arms during the coup had been impossible.

Admitting the U.S. Congress's great role in the United States and the world, Gorbachev called on the Congress to understand and support the Soviet Union in this difficult moment and not to lose the chance.

Gorbachev asked Nunn to convey his regards to President George Bush, senators, congressmen and other Americans, with whom he had political contacts.

Interviewed on Russian Television

LD0209214291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The course of events in our country is serious and of concern to everyone in the world, and not without grounds. Everyone is waiting for stabilization. An example is the lightning-quick readiness to provide economic assistance for the victorious democracy. Another example is the lighting-quick reaction of Washington to the headlong collapse of a nuclear power.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] We spoke to Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee, who came to Moscow for one day to meet Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

[Nunn, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Gorbachev expressed enthusiasm for the preservation of the union, and reckons that the armed forces and nuclear weapons will [words indistinct]. Gorbachev said that there has been considerable progress in relations between the republics, and that in general he is very optimistic.

The senator went on to give assurances that he is most interested in our economic prosperity, and most apprehensive about dispersal of our nuclear potential.

[Correspondent] What Sam Nunn said is right, of course. One of the most influential Democratic politicians, and a key figure in determining the military policy of his country, he dropped everything to fly here when he heard the news about the collapse of the USSR and about warheads being scattered throughout the former empire. After talking to Gorbachev today, and observing the work of the congress for a day, the senator seems somewhat reassured. [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

'New Approaches' to Afghan Settlement Sought

OW0309152791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent asked an official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's South-West Asia Department to comment on the allegations that the new political situation, particularly "the parade of sovereignties", may cause the Soviet Union to reconsider the structure of its military and economic aid to Afghanistan.

We've been reviewing our policy toward Afghanistan and looking for new approaches with a view to restoring peace in that country as soon as possible, the diplomat said. He observed that the new realities might take some time to grasp. At present, suggestions are being worked out concerning the entire complex of Soviet-Afghan relations. Settling the Afghan conflict politically at an early date remains a priority direction in Soviet foreign policy, the official said.

He confirmed that the Soviet side had repeatedly invited the Afghan mojahedin to a negotiating table. Moscow is ready to continue the dialogue. It isn't we who are to blame for the delay, the Foreign Ministry diplomat said.

East Europe

Shaposhnikov Meets With German Ambassador

LD3108082191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1242 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug (TASS)—Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, today received Klaus Blech, FRG ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. A frank conversation took place, during which problems of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory were discussed, as well as other questions of mutual interest. Noting that there had never been any Soviet chemical weapons on the territory of Germany, the Soviet military leader stated unequivocally: At the present time, not a single unit of Soviet nuclear ammunition remains on German soil.

The meeting passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Foreign Ministry 'Shaping' Position on Yugoslavia

OW0209175891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 2 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the moment, the Soviet Foreign Ministry is shaping its position on the events in Yugoslavia, said an executive of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Third European Department. He told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that this work had been prompted by the forthcoming meeting of the CSCE's Senior Executives' Committee in Prague which, he said, may be held today, tomorrow or on Thursday, September 5, as Yugoslavian representatives insist on. The meeting is expected to concentrate on the future of Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union, he said, welcomes the decision of the Presidium of Yugoslavia, of the federal government and of representatives of all the republics of Yugoslavia, taken on the night September 1, "on immediate and absolute ceasefire" in Croatia, on sending a group of EC [European Community] observers to this republic and on holding an international conference on settling this crisis. In the Soviet diplomat's estimate, such an agreement could lay the beginning for peaceful settlement in Yugoslavia. He also commended the role of the European community which acted within the CSCE mandate, in achieving it.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry official also said that Soviet diplomats, too, actively promoted the attainment of the agreement. He confirmed that the Soviet position was unshakeable and said that the Soviet Union would back any choice of the Yugoslav peoples, whichever it may be. He said that the best thing would be to reach accord in Yugoslavia in cooperation with the EC and all of the CSCE's member-states. Only in this case can one talk about reliable guarantees of peaceful evolution of the situation. The Soviet diplomat noted that any forced imposition of modes of settlement, coming from outside or prompted by the best of intentions, may be counterproductive.

He said that the Soviet Union could take part in an international conference on the future of Yugoslavia if representatives of that country gave their consent. (According to an agreement, the future conference may only be attended by the states approved by the Yugoslavs themselves.) He said that Yugoslavia seemed to be willing to see the Soviet Union among the participants.

As to the official recognition of Slovenia's and Croatia's independence, (Austria may announce its decision this week), haste is unnecessary, said the Soviet diplomat and referred to the Briony declaration which imposed a three-months' moratorium on all acts dealing with Slovenia's and Croatia's independence. The declaration has not yet expired. So, said the Soviet diplomat, on the eve of the international conference on Yugoslavia, whose convocation may be possibly approved by the CSCE's Senior Executive's Committee in Prague, the violation of the moratorium may prove to be counterproductive.

Asked if the Union and the Russian Federation will come to terms concerning Yugoslvaia, the Soviet diplomat said that it was a matter of the future—near future, he added. He said that soon representatives of the Russian Federation, Belorussia and Kazakhstan would

be sent to the Soviet embassy in Yugoslavia. The representative of the Ukraine, who will also work at the Soviet embassy, has left for Belgrade.

Romania Unlikely To Ratify Treaty With USSR

PM0309154591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent V. Volodin: "Chances of a 'Pact' Are Virtually Zero. Soviet-Romanian Treaty Unlikely To Be Ratified by Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest—The newspaper CURIERUL NATIONAL, which has close links with Romanian government circles, does not rule out the possibility that in September the country's parliamentarians will pronounce on the ratification of the Soviet-Romanian Treaty on Cooperation, Good-Neighborliness, and Friendship, which its critics in Bucharest sarcastically call the "Iliescu-Gorbachev pact."

As is well known, ever since it was signed (and it was the first USSR treaty with an East European country following the well known events) there have been repeated calls in Romania not to ratify the document as a whole or to exclude certain articles from it. Above all the one that stipulates nonmembership of military blocs directed against the other side.

Not only the parliamentary opposition, but a whole bunch of deputies fron the ruling National Salvation Front criticized the country's leadership for the treaty's ill-defined expression of Romania's attitude toward the Republic of Moldova and for recognizing the inviolability of postwar borders, in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris charter for a new Europe.

Despite the widespread publication of the text of the treaty in the Romanian press (in contrast to the Soviet press) and the repeated statements by President I. Iliescu and Foreign Minister A. Nastase that the document contains no secret articles that might infringe the sovereignty of Romania or the Republic of Moldova, many opponents attacked the treaty from precisely that position, calling for it not to be ratified.

The thesis was also put forward that during the Soviet-American summit in Malta the USSR and the United States agree to divide Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. Under this accord Romania was allegedly in the zone of Soviet interests, which was enshrined by the signed treaty.

CURIERUL NATIONAL notes that during the period since the treaty was signed the situation in the USSR has changed radically. According to the paper, since the declaration of independence by the Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova the good-neighborliness formula has lost its meaning since Romania, apparently, no longer has a common border with the USSR. The treaty envisages recognition of postwar borders, but this should not now be done.

The influential paper ROMANIA LIBERA conducted an international experts' investigation, which concluded that the treaty had lost its juridical foundation. People in Bucharest say that the treaty will not come up for parliamentary discussion at all until the situation in the Soviet Union is totally clarified. CURIERUL NATIONAL, again, believes that the "former great power" is going to disintegrate further and suggests that attention be paid to preparing treaties with the independent states, above all with the adjoining Ukraine, where, the paper notes, "there are large Romanian enclaves."

West Europe

Genscher Urges Western Countries To Speed Up Aid

LD0109121991 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn September 1 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans- Dietrich Genscher called on the leaders of Western countries to act promptly in making decisions on economic assistance to the Soviet Union.

Genscher stressed in an article published by the WELT AM SONNTAG newspaper the importance of prompt supplies of food to the Soviet Union which is going to need food badly this coming winter.

"We expect our partners to take an active part in implementing these programmes because Germany won't be able to cope with the task alone," the minister said.

He invited the world's leading industrialized countries to participate in joint specific and useful projects which would do good to the people in the Soviet Union and measurably boost the efficiency of the Soviet national economy.

Genscher pointed to the energy industry and mining as priority fields for cooperation. He said that in order to make the implementation of these programmes more effective it is necessary to facilitate the entry of the Soviet Union as a whole and its individual republics into international monetary organisations.

On security problems, the German minister again pointed to the pressing need for eliminating short-range nuclear missiles and nuclear artillery ammunition stocks in the Soviet Union and Western countries.

In the present situation, it is expedient to eliminate these armaments in order to block their further proliferation, Genscher said.

He also favoured further steps in cutting conventional weapons in order to lessen the danger of conflicts.

Withdrawal From Germany To Continue on Schedule

PM0209144191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Ye. Bovkun report: "Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From Germany Continues on Schedule"]

[Text] Bonn—I do not know what feelings were experienced by General Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, when he received the plotters' directives from Moscow, but the decision he made proved his perception of the significance of the moment: A sort of panic had developed among the FRG population, especially in the Eastern Lands. The prospect of 272,000 soldiers armed with contemporary hardware coming under the control of a Stalinist "emergency committee" could mean serious danger. Trade union aktiv members in the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania land even decided upon a desperate measure—admittedly, without first reaching agreement with the leadership of the German Trade Union Federation. Having arrived at the Soviet base in Schwerin, they appealed to the commander in chief to open the barracks gates and give soldiers and their families a chance to gain political asylum in Germany.

General Burlakov told the FRG representatives exactly what was expected of him: Troop withdrawals would continue in strict accordance with the treaty schedule. But a complex, even strange situation emerged. The self-proclaimed USSR president's decree only extended, after all, to "certain regions" of our country. So why at that time did the putschists send it to the Western Group of Forces?

The instructions—which at first glance are idiotic—on how to behave abroad during the "state of emergency" (as we know, they were also received by embassies and trade missions) pursued, nonetheless, a simple but quite crafty aim: Indeed, there will always be people who set about ardently fulfilling even vague directions—"to show constraint"—and thus immediately become accomplices in the coup, or at the very least do not condemn it.

If something happens in the Western Group of Forces to give the FRG and its allies cause to suspect a chance of destabilizing the atmosphere in regions where forces are stationed, NATO headquarters could make decisions or take steps to forestall this. And this is all it would have taken for the junta to cry "our men are under attack!" and to demand the introduction of martial law on the entire territory of the country. It is terrible to think how all of this could have ended. Compliance with the schedule to withdraw Soviet troops from the FRG calmed local opinion and defused the atmosphere.

Not everything is rosy in relations between our army in Germany and the local authorities. Leaders of Saxony, referring to information from the Federal Department for Defending the Constitution, complain in particular that Soviet intelligence services are conducting a massive bugging operation on telephone conversations, having set up special equipment in a number of barracks which can pick up signals from required telephone calls and record the conversations. For this, the most important subscribers are put on a large computer.

Of course, all this is bound to overshadow bilateral relations. Nevertheless, the main thing now is to comply with international legal norms. Therefore, the withdrawal of soldiers and equipment from Germany continues. Already, 85,000 men have left the FRG (by the end of the year this figure will read 150,000), along with 343,000 tonnes of arms (by the end of the year this will total 444,000).

The troops are leaving. Where will they go? Are there not too many of them to return to Russia alone, if the other republics refuse to accept the soldiers on their territory once they become fully independent?

Call for Faster Pullout Viewed

PM0309130591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Markushin report: "Not To Exacerbate the Problem"]

[Text] The issue of speeding up the withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces has again been raised in German government circles. Following in the footsteps of the Bundestag experts on defense questions who made special statements on this subject, Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has expressed his opinion. He linked the need for a faster withdrawal of Soviet forces from Germany with the urgent radical reduction of the USSR Armed Forces, whose might, according to him, is not comparable with the present level of the country's economic development.

In principle there is nothing unnatural in the fact that the German side is hoping for an early—that is, before December 1994—liberation of the territory of the former GDR from Soviet garrisons. Many problems have been connected with our presence, as with the foreign military presence in Germany as a whole. The Germans would like to resolve them as soon as possible. And the Soviet Union understands this very well. Which, in particular, was confirmed in the new USSR defense minister's interview given to USSR and FRG television correspondents.

However, analyzing the reasons for the present upsurge in demands for the speediest withdrawal of Soviet troops, you come to the conclusion that they are dictated by recent events in our country. In all probability, Bonn believes that the attempted coup d'etat has weakened the Soviet leadership's position and will force it to be more compliant.

In this connection I would like to stress that all these calculations cannot solve the main problem of the forces that are being withdrawn. This problem is common

knowledge—the provision of facilities for them in new places. So if Bonn is today expressing the hope that the Treaty on the Temporary Presence and Regulated Withdrawal of Soviet Forces from FRG Territory will be implemented ahead of schedule, it must show that it is prepared to assist in the practical resolution of this problem.

Furthermore, there is every reason to fear that any faster "signal to assemble for travel" to the Soviet troops may evoke excessive activeness among a section of the population to "send packing the guests who have overstayed their welcome." In that event would we not have a substantial increase in the unlawful actions against Soviet citizens in the Western Group of Forces which are already occurring today?

The withdrawal of Soviet forces from FRG territory is a very complex problem for both countries. And we must do everything we can to ensure that it in no way has a negative effect on the existing good-neighborly relations between us.

Demands for Honecker's Return to Germany Continue

LD3008154091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 3

[Correspondent Ye. Savishchev report: "Being Old Is No Fun"]

[Text] Bonn—Many prominent German politicians are once again insistently demanding that former GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, currently in the Soviet Union, be handed over to the German authorities. People in Bonn stress that the order for E. Honecker's arrest issued by Berlin Senate justice organs 14 March has by no means lost its validity. However, until recently the Soviet leadership did its utmost to ignore any attempts by the German side to get their hands on the ex-head of what was the GDR.

As is well known, he left Germany with the help of the Soviet military 14 March this year. The Soviet official story at the time was as follows: Ailing Honecker immediately needs skilled medical aid which did not seem possible at the Belitz Military Hospital near Potsdam.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, head of the German foreign policy department, voiced the hope that the Soviet leadership will accommodate "Bonn's rightful demand" in the current situation following the abortive coup attempt.

According to DPA information, E. Honecker's lawyer, Friedrich Wolf, said that the Honeckers can no longer remain in the USSR. It is quite possible, he stressed, that his client will be sent to the FRG next week. According to Wolf, Erich and Margot Honecker would like, if the German authorities agree, to move to Chile to live with their daughter. However, the money that the family can lay its hands on would only be enough for two one-way tickets, since the disgraced couple's German bank accounts have been seized.

Passions over the case of the ex-head of what was the GDR have blazed with renewed vigor since the statement that Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian parliament's foreign policy committee, gave to BILD that there can be no doubt that E. Honecker will soon be handed over to the German authorities.

Last Sunday E. Honecker celebrated his 79th birthday.

Gorbachev Thanks Finland's Koivisto for Letter

LD0309164591 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1500 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev has thanked President Mauno Koivisto for the letter congratulating him on the failure of the attempted coup. Gorbachev says in a letter to Koivisto that he was very moved by the warm and friendly tone of the letter sent by Koivisto. According to Gorbachev, the coup was doomed to fail right from the start, because it was directed against not only the democratic changes in the Soviet Union but against the positive development taking place in the entire world. Gorbachev agrees with Koivisto's view that the victory of democracy will also influence the future of relations between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Congress of People's Deputies

Special Session Continues Proceedings 3 Sep

Yeltsin on New Union Structure

LD0309104891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0947 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Speech by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] [applause as Yeltsin walks to rostrum] Esteemed people's deputies. The situation in the country is so complex that cardinal solutions and immediate measures are needed. This is, evidently, clear to all. The August coup was not accidental. It was the logical result of the policy that was being pursued in the country. A crisis of power has existed in the Soviet Union for a prolonged period now, and it is increasingly intensifying. Month after month, the Union leadership acted virtually blindly, without a distinct political course. While proclaiming correct slogans, in practice it made every effort to impede their implementation. The implementation of reforms was entrusted to bodies that were essentially totalitarian. Apparently, everything possible was done to protect the party and state structures from destruction. But today, the procuracy now has sufficient grounds to dissolve the bodies of the CPSU. Vital areas of change were entrusted to people who were, essentially, leaders of reactionary forces. This approach led to deep crisis and disorganized the life of the whole country. Once again the elementary political truth was corroborated: That reformers and reactionaries, supporters of dictatorship and adherents of democracy, those who persecute freedom and those who defend it cannot move in the same direction.

Since last year, the republics have begun playing an active role in the country. The Union structures, repelling everything new, took up a sharply confrontational stance with regard to them. A virtual cold war between the center and the republics lasted for about a year. The Union structures never did understand that the acquisition of sovereignty by the republics, including the former autonomous republics within the republics, was not the underhand plotting of democratics but an objective trend of our time. There were hopes that the Congress and Supreme Soviet of the USSR could begin the general reconstruction of the center. These bodies have been invested with significant powers and could have had a considerable influence on the renewal of Union structures.

Unfortunately that did not happen. In the days of the putsch the country had no supreme legislative power or parliament. The junta had a free hand. By its inaction, the Supreme Soviet provided it with most-favored-status. And on the whole, until recently the Union center has remained essentially unchanged. It has hopelessly lagged behind the country and ceased to understand what processes are going on within it. The decisive role in it has continued to be played by the partyocracy, whose opposition to change is well known. And when it became clear that the country was finally getting out of the control of the highest party and state structures, they decided to use the extreme measures of force against millions of citizens, against their own country. They decided to use force to return the country to the past.

In assessing the reasons for the coup I cannot fail to mention the role of the country's president, his inconsistency in implementing reforms, his lack of resolve and at time his capitulation to the aggressive onslaught of a partocracy which had found that its rights were being encroached upon. All this created favourable ground for the revanche of the totalitarian system. I do not believe that Mikhail Sergeyevich was ignorant of the real worth of Yanayev, Kryuchkov, Pugo, Yazov and others. Let us recall January of this year, when the country felt with alarm that the course of president Gorbachev was veering sharply to the right. Positions were ceded one after another. The repressive role of the KGB was intensified. The participation of the Army in settling political problems was legitimized. Control of the media was tightened. For participation in the meeting of the states of the Big Seven in London, Gorbachev called not on Yavlinskiy, but on Pavlov, the results of whose economic policy or adventure had been sharply felt by the population of the whole country.

Yes, today we have the right to make complaints against Gorbachev. I stress, to make complaints—not to call him to account.

Following the coup, the country—and Russia first and foremost—have become different. The president too has become different. He has found in himself the strength to reassess much. This is a step worthy of confidence. I personally, for instance, today believe in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev considerably more than I did even three weeks ago, prior to the putsch. [applause]

In the new conditions, the point of there being Union bodies is for harmonizing and coordinating the activities of the republics, not for handing out commands and directives. Attempts to postpone dealing with this matter are inadmissible. The coup cut short the signing of the Union treaty, but it was unable to put paid to the republics' desire for the building of a new Union. The collapse of the totalitarian empire has become irreversible, but the new voluntary interrepublican relations based on equal rights have stood their ground. It is precisely this which has prevented anarchy and chaos in this country, whose highest state bodies proved to be demoralized and failed to act. It is precisely the republics which today represent the main source for stabilization, and a desire to trample or block them will only push the country toward disaster.

Now for proposals for concrete actions. First: Preserve the country's unified economic area. The republics—practically almost all 15—are ready to conclude an economic union to ensure the normal operation of the national economy, and provide life support for the population in the transition period. Of course, there is a need today for what I would term survival measures with respect to food.

Second: Create a Union which is a free community of sovereign states, based on the existence of differing forms of interstate relations. Here we have to depart a little from the Novo-Ogarevo agreements. In other words, we have to agree that, yes, there can be independent republics which insist on a confederation, or on a federation, or on associate membership, or on an economic union—but, whatever, they should be part of some kind of unified system.

Third: Preserve the Union Armed Forces, with the USSR's nuclear arsenal, without fail, remaining under the control of the center. Military reform is needed. For its part, Russia guarantees preservation of the integrity of the Armed Forces' nuclear potential—this will not fall either to hawks or to extremists. Special structures are now being devized for this.

At the same time, we advocate substantial cuts in defense expenditure: The level of expenditure should be determined by two criteria—defense sufficiency and reinforcing the social protection given to military servicemen.

Four: Providing strict guarantees of human rights throughout the whole territory of the country. Russia affirms adherence to its contractual obligations on this matter, and will defend the interests of Russian people beyond the borders of the republic. Russia will build relations with sovereign states on foundations of equality, goodneighborliness, mutual benefit and noninterference in the internal affairs of each other. The Russian state, having chosen democracy and freedom, will never be an empire, nor an older or younger brother. It will be an equal among equals. [applause]

Esteemed people's deputies. Today, resistance to radical change is weakened. This chance must be taken advantage of. From the political point of view it is shortsighted, from the ethical point of view it is immoral, and from the human point of view it is stupid to waste time clinging to the drab behests and ideals which some people spoke of yesterday and today. Today, the whole world is not only in sympathy with us, and was in sympathy over and followed most attentively the events of the 19th, 20th, 21st, but is also ready to give real support in the particularly difficult period of transition. In the end it is we who have to recognize our own responsibility before our own people and before all mankind.

Gorbachev Urges 'Voluntary Union'

LD0309153691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1410 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Address by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed congress! In the past week the people have decided their fate not only in the parliaments, in the public clashes of opinion, and at meetings, but also, unfortuately, at the barricades. A tragedy has taken place, washed with blood. You know my assessments. I had intended to present them in an expanded form if the occasion arose, if I appear in the role of rapporteur. Now I will merely say that for me all that has happened has been a hard lesson—a hard lesson—but at the same time also confirmation that for all the drama we've found ourselves in as a result of the anti-constitutional coup, for all the fact that it has exacerbated everything in society to the limit, and moreover on the eve of... when we were just one day away from the signing of the new treaty on the union of sovereign states, and this was opening possibilities for strengthening harmony and cooperation; for all the fact that time has been lost for solving economic problems and the social situation in the country is at its limit; for all that, I say that it has also confirmed that what we have been doing since 1985 has enabled us to create such preconditions and such new realities in our country that from the very beginning...this was said as early as 18 August when that mission appeared in the Crimea and was doomed.

The people did not accept it, the Army stayed with the people. For the first time we saw a new generation which had already taken shape over these years and moved—ready to give their lives for this new country which was going along the road of renewal. We saw that it was not in vain, that we had all worked within the framework of the new thinking, shaping new relations with states and peoples who, at this difficult hour, took up democratic positions in support of those who came out against the putsch.

We have done some things, but there is a great deal that has not been done, there have been miscalculations and errors. And in this sense, I want to say: Gorbachev has stayed the same as far as his policies and his adherence to the deep revolutionary changes encompassing all walks of life in our society are concerned. But Gorbachev has changed in the same measure to which he has preserved his loyalty to his main choice of 1985. He has changed in that he admits that mistakes, miscalculations were and have been made in the tactics, measures, and actions taken and that he failed to see in good time that at that very stage the structures of the totalitarian system that held us back should have been disbanded faster. What is more, he couldn't have, couldn't.

I know that now not only at meetings, not just anywhere but even at the Congress of People's Deputies, people are hurling everything they like at the president, and while I

am still president I think that everyone should understand this, because the president today and tomorrow and so on is all of us together. We should not spit at ourselves. I am reacting for the first time, although there is a flood of all kinds of conjecture, doubts, and so on.

This is why I am replying to that remark of yours. So (? the president) overlooked and—this is the main thing—failed to use in good time his full authority in uniting the democratic forces, the new forces that could fully shoulder the responsibility for this course, for implementing...I could yet add a lot to this, I am completing this part in order to tackle the main issue. Society is disturbed. It wants to understand to the last detail what has happened, where the sources of the events are, what should be done to prevent a repetition of the same in the future. The main question is: What is a way out of the mechanism that has taken shape and where are the structures and the people who will take upon themselves responsibility in these most difficult times? Such are the issues that are worrying people nowadays, and it is right that these things are, after all, at the center of attention.

Properly speaking, this is what has prompted the urgent convocation of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This is what has prompted the statement by the country's president and the leaders of Union republics. This is an expression of responsibility to the people, to the people, the greatest responsibility, and in this connection I primarily express satisfaction with the fact that the congress, for all its diversity of views, overall, the majority of people's deputies have approached the assessment of the situation with high responsibility, and have supported, in principle, the proposals that were submitted on behalf of the president and the leaders of the republics. The speeches have contained both a legal assessment of the proposed measures and many different additions and proposals. Probably not all of them can be implemented now by the congress, but nothing of value and of use will be—or at any rate should be—disregarded, so all this is applied to get constructive work going by the bodies that are to function, and I hope that the congress will voice its positive stand in support of them as interim structures for the transition period.

At the same time, I cannot disregard the speeches by those comrades who would—and it is not a case here of their names, but of their positions—who would like to portray the statement as something running counter to the constitution and the country's laws, or even more, as almost, no, as yet another coup. I resolutely refuse to accept such utterances. I reject this as an attempt to portray actions in the name of defending democracy and insuring urgent measures to save the country as some dark design against the people, and to label as impostors legally elected people behind whom stand parliaments and millions of voters. This is impermissible and it should, I think, be firmly rejected by our whole congress. The absurdity of all this is demonstrated by the fact that the president and leaders gathered twice over this brief period, on the 23d immediately after my return from the Crimea and on the eve of the congress, and came with their statement to the congress—that is the supreme body of state authority, the constitutional body—and appealed to it to adopt a decision within its competence. This is precisely the competence of the congress.

And those conspirators—incidentally, when the initiative group came to me with the objectives that we all know, and I am not going to repeat them, I said: Your escapade is doomed. You will destroy yourselves. To hell with you, that is your own choice, but you will destroy the people, the country, all the changes. I propose that if you have a position different to mine, let us assemble the Supreme Soviet, the congress, and we can put our positions to these legal bodies of power.

This did not suit them, as you can see, although I continued in every possible way to get my standpoint across. And so, we are at the congress, and we have appealed to the congress, I have in mind the statement, the authors of the statement. But the point does not just lie in the legal aspect, comrades. We are living at a time when it is necessary to take extraordinary steps and make decisions. It is of fundamental importance that in a situation when the coup had placed the country on the verge of uncontrolled disintegration, the leaders of 11 republics—10 of them signed, and 11 took part in its elaboration—thought it essential to meet, and to a large extent they attained coordinated standpoints on the most important issues of concern to the whole of our society.

Let us concentrate on this once again - what standpoints are these? We will now have to make a decision. I want to say this again, because these are not just some sketches put together overnight. You can nitpick over the formulae, but the ideas and what these people have put into this merit the attention and support of the congress, I am firmly convinced of this. So, what standpoints are these? In two words, literally: it talks about the need to conclude a union treaty, a treaty on a union of sovereign states; it talks about the need to sign an economic agreement as soon as possible, an economic union between the republics, to create interrepublican mechanisms for managing the economic process and implementing reforms and for cooperation between the republics during this difficult time; and it states that there is a need to agree on ensuring collective security and implementing military reform in unified armed forces. So, it is talking about nothing other than an aspiration, in the current most difficult conditions, to preserve a political, economic, scientific, spiritual, cultural and defense space and to adopt a declaration on human liberties and rights.

Finally, it reaffirms international obligations, including treaty obligations on military issues, on arms control, and on foreign economic obligations—everything that the country and the world community are concerned about. If this is implemented, then the disintegration of the democratic space will be avoided, which is where the debate taking the form of protest against this statement started from.

I hope that the congress has sufficient wisdom and will to adopt the only possible decision in the given conditions. It is perfectly clear that only an authoritative organ can really restore the country's governability, one that is capable of both making decisions and insuring their implementation throughout its territory. It seems to us that in today's conditions, for the transitional period, only the State Council, with the composition that was proposed to you, can be such an organ.

During the debate, there has been particular discussion of the proposal to form a council of representatives, that is, a kind of legislative assembly for the transitional period. In my view, this is a very serious point, and during all the breaks, all we members of the presidium and the authors who signed this statement, have given a very responsible reception to these ideas. Our opinion boils down to this—I should like to convey it to you, and again, it is our joint view—that perhaps we could implement this idea not via the council of representatives, but via a supreme soviet according to the formula that we included in the draft new Union treaty, where there were two chambers [brief applause], where there was a soviet of the republics, and where the interests of the autonomous formations were taken into account. But in this case, one could pose the issue not as four, not keeping it as it is, but giving at least one vote to every autonomous formation. That is, we could now work on the basis of this and have a body that would work and function alongside the State Council and would tackle... would cooperate. But this means that it [muttered queries, to which Gorbachev replies]—the soviet of the Union, the soviet of the republic [as heard], but formed in a known way, according to the formula of the Novo-Ogarevo process. And this, in fact, keeps within the framework of the constitution, so to speak. That is, I think this is an issue that can be settled, and that is the opinion of all the comrades. You must just bear in mind, comrades, that we are actually talking about transitional bodies.

And one has to prepare prerequisites and create new structures of power and administration within short time limits—already within the framework of the Union treaty, the economic and other agreements which are planned for signing. But the most important thing now is to act as quickly as possible, to act! For as was said...you all know, and Comrade Silayev has recalled this once again, that there are urgent issues of providing food, there are urgent issues of preparations for winter, of strengthening legality, the financial situation—all this requires concerted actions. And there are prerequisites for mastering the situation and moving forward. Moreover, I will tell you the following:

The West is, frankly speaking, watching: if we can cooperate and unite in new ways, if we can set in motion new structures and new people, then the West will give us support. Now the West is laying it straight on the line—you are all well-informed people, you can read—laying it straight on the line. Now they are watching who to deal with. And so both for the country, for internal process, and for the cooperation which we need, all this must be resolved now, and without delay.

And the last thing. I fully agree with those comrades who spoke about the need to clearly sort things out regarding the culpability of those who had taken part in the coup. They should be punished in accordance with law but in no way should we permit transferring liability to innocent citizens, not to mention a witch hunt. The state council, all the structures of power and, naturally, the president should monitor this. Nobody should have doubts. Violations of civil rights for political reasons should not be permitted. We must firmly say this to the whole country, because we know instances of it, such things have happened that we cannot fail to keep this in view and take this stand.

I end my speech with an expression of the deepest conviction that the central issue, the prime issue that urgently demands to be cleared up, is nevertheless the issue of our statehood. If we do not make this clear, we shall not resolve other issues, either—economic, political, social, scientific, and so on and so forth, interethnic ones and others. I am convinced of this. At the referendum, people expressed their will in favour of preserving and decisively renewing the Union. During the Novo-Ogarevo process we arrived at the formula of a union of sovereign states. This now need reinterpretation—let's reinterpret it, let's make this union a truly voluntary one, so that it is in line with the interests, let it provide the opportunity to have federal within this union [as heard] on some issues, confederative ones on other issues, and ones of association on yet others. I think that the union of sovereign states formula makes it possible to take all this into account. If we do this, and if the congress supports the ideas and proposals that have been put forward in the statement by the president and the leaders of republics, then the congress will fulfil its role at a historically crucial moment. [applause]

Silayev on Economic Body

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[Speech by RSFSR Prime Minister Ivan Stepanovich Silayev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade people's deputies, esteemed chairman. The Committee for the Operational Management of the country's National Economy has just ended its regular sitting. It has instructed me to make the following statement on behalf of the committee:

Naturally, the agenda consisted of one issue: the attitude of our committee to what is going on here, and specifically to the joint statement by the USSR president and the 11 republics, which is under discussion here. This is only the ninth day of the work of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. However, it can be said that representatives and

observers from all sovereign republics without exception have now had the experience of joint work.

This is the positive experience. And it compels us to support the proposal expressed yesterday in the statement by the USSR president and the top leaders of the Union republics that an economic union should be created without delay and that an inter- republican economic committee should be formed with representatives of all the republics taking part it on a parity basis. Overall, the committee approved the main provisions in this statement unanimously. These ideas seem to us to be not just constructive but essential and realistically feasible. I am also sure that the inter-republican economic committee will be able to become a viable working body and will insure economic stability in the country.

I might be accused of excessive optimism. But this optimism is not groundless. Suffice it to say that the directive about our committee was signed on 24 August. And the very next day, envoys not just from seven or nine but from all 15 republics arrived in Moscow at our invitation. True, the Ukraine and the Baltic states their observers. But these observers have been working in the working groups just as actively as the representatives of other sovereign republics.

Every hour of joint work shows that the republics have an ever greater understanding of one another. Many issues which were difficult to resolve within the framework of the previous USSR Cabinet of Ministers are being settled considerably more easily within the direct cooperation of the republics, and this is borne out by the decisions adopted unanimously—and we have adopted more than 10 decisions—unanimously by all of the republics, all of the participants. Over these nine days we have had virtually no arguments. There were discussions, there were diverse points of view, but on each occasion they ended in consensus.

On the other hand a clear feeling emerged that the economy is indeed the link which unites all of us, all of the sovereign republics. I believe that if the parliaments and governments of the republics were able to invest their representatives with the appropriate powers, we could reach agreement on many issues even today on an even greater scale, because when we speak of prices and mutual supplies, and about a future clearing system, we always find a common language and common, mutually acceptable solutions, even though we sometimes lack the appropriate powers—I have the observers in mind in particular. Figuratively speaking, the republics are ready not just to share, but also to share with one another.

The most important conclusion from the experience of these nine days is that the republican economic structures can work together, without having to look over their shoulder at the center and without the diktat of the center, and, on the contrary, more successfully than was the case previously. Yes, the previous unitary union has died, but this is what ought to be said to those bewailing a great power: Attempts to reanimate the imperial corpse are just flogging a dead horse. We will rely on different values and different ideas. The republics have goodwill and economic interests are working together, and this means that a new, really free union of our peoples is going to live. A new formula for such cooperation is also being generated. The republics are taking on the totality of responsibility to their citizens for their economic policies, and are implementing them with the help of other republics on mutually advantageous terms. It is natural that they will no longer have anyone to blame apart from themselves. And since we have begun talking of formulae, we should not restrict the framework of the economic union to seven, nine, or even 15 sovereign states.

Why 15 and not 18, or even 20? Yesterday, among other things, our committee received the author of the economic reforms in Poland, Mr. Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He listened to what we had to say with great interest and showed very serious interest in a future union and the possible participation of that country in particular. For this reason, we should rule out in advance the possibility of Bulgaria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia joining our economic community.

The cold shower of economic disorder rapidly cools the hottest heads, while the benefits of good-neighborliness and business partnership, we are certain, will outweigh the bad memory of fraternity in the socialist camp. Let the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance rest in peace, but a community of economic cooperation would prove useful to both of us and to other countries of Eastern Europe who wish to participate.

We know that this idea will not meet with a uniform response. Russia, it will be said, has the most powerful economy, so an economic union and a common economic space from the Balkans to the Pacific Ocean would be advantageous above all to Russia. Moreover, in the press, in the lobbies, and sometimes here also, voices have been heard speaking of the imperial manners of Russia.

The committee for management of the economy was formed rather hurriedly and certain areas of work were headed by Russian ministers—there are six of them in total on the committee, and I am the seventh - and, at first, this could not but cause a certain tension in relations with representatives of the republics. On the second day of our work, at my proposal, we agreed that Russia, like the other republics, would have only one vote when resolving all issues. This removed all problems.

In our working groups it was not personalities, posts, or even the economic potential of the republics that have taken priority. Rather it is economic laws that are of top priority, a single market, and not this or that esteemed leader of this or that republic. There are undertakings for the successful working of an interrepublican committee. Let me refer, above all, to the numerous interrepublican

economic agreements that have been signed over the last few months. The climate of trust that has become established between the heads of republican economic structures during the preparation of these agreements has today been very much to the point.

It will be fully within the power of an interrepublican economic committee to insure economic stability in the country. It is our common view that the sooner an interrepublican economic committee is set up, the better. Not only the logic of our internal processes but also external circumstances prompt this. The Soviet Union has had countless foreign economic obligations and the former and now discredited USSR Cabinet of Ministers needs a proper successor.

In the last week alone, as the Committee for the Operational Management of the Economy, we have received appeals and we have had to hold talks with a number of leaders of Western countries. The West is already reviewing its approaches to its economic aid to our country and the aid will increase. It needs a reliable partner that enjoys the confidence of citizens of all the republics. We do not need to rack our brains over who is to head an interregional committee. Given internal ties and given the direct cooperation of the republics, the market itself will dictate and the main coordinator of cooperation should, probably, be the USSR president himself.

Esteemed people's deputies, we fully support the main points of the statement and as a committee, albeit temporary, as the executive body, we approve it and ask for it to be backed.

And finally, on behalf of the leadership of the committee for the management of the national economy—Comrades Volskiy, Luzhkov, Yavlinskiy, and on my own behalf—we state to you that we are prepared to surrender our powers as early as the next few days to the interrepublican economic committee and return to carrying out our immediate duties. Thank you for your attention.

Television Carries 2 Sep Congress Proceedings

LD0209071491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0659 GMT on 2 September begins a live relay of the opening of the fifth emergency session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow in the Kremlin

Opening shots show the interior of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, with deputies in their places.

Laptev, with Nishanov seated beside him, opens the proceedings. The platform is otherwise empty. He talks about the grave consequences of the events which have shaken the Soviet Union, the coup, and its monstrous aims.

At 0701 GMT Gorbachev is seen in the body of the hall among the deputies.

A minute's silence is maintained for the victims of the coup.

1,900 deputies have registered for the congress. Therefore, the congress can now be opened.

Laptev says the Congress is truly extraordinary. He talks about Gorbachev's meeting yesterday with leaders of 11 republics. The participants have signed a special declaration addressed to the Congress. At 0703 GMT Nazarbayev comes to the podium and begins reading the declaration. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 3 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for the declaration.]

At 0709 GMT a second statement on the order of work is outlined. A three-day congress is proposed with an agenda that should include a joint statement by the president and the leaders of the republics. A working Presidium is to include Gorbachev and representatives of the republics.

At 0711 GMT, Laptev says there needs to be a break. A break is then declared until 1100 GMT. There is commotion in the hall as Moscow Central Television First Program Network breaks from the congress.

The relay ends. The relay resumes at 1103 GMT.

At 1105 GMT Laptev asks deputies to be seated and to prepare for registration. Laptev and Nishanov are in the center of the otherwise empty presidium row of chairs on the platform. Registration proceeds—there are 1780 deputies present.

Laptev then says the congress needs to elect a working body, a working presidium. He notes that Nazarbayev has already made a proposal that this consist of the USSR president plus representatives of the republics. A vote is taken on this measure: The result is 1,263 for and 125 against. Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and other republican leaders are shown taking their seats in the presidium seating on the platform.

A vote is then taken on an unidentified secretariat. The secretariat is approved with a vote of 1,536 for and 35 against. Laptev then gives details of where the secretariat will work. A group of people's deputies is also needed to check on the electronic voting. A proposed list has been circulated on this and a vote is taken. The vote is 1,734 for and 24 against.

At 1113 GMT Gorbachev is asked to take his seat as chairman of the proceedings. He does so. Gorbachev says: "I am going to continue the work of our congress and I hope that I can move with it, working, listening to each other, and working out coordinated positions. I am not going to tolerate any demonstrations or demonstrative claims or shouts whatsoever. If someone wants simply to wreck our congress, he will do this. If he is willing to cooperate, then the presidium—I am voicing a

common point here—will cooperate constructively and we can tackle all the issues."

Gorbachev then gives the floor to Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee for Compliance With the Constitution.

At 1115 GMT Alekseyev speaks. [See this section for Alekseyev's speech.]

Gorbachev then calls on Sobchak to speak on behalf of the RSFSR. Sobchak says: "At a meeting of USSR people's deputies from Russia, the following decision was made: to support the statement by the USSR president and top officials of the republics on measures to stabilize the situation and create new state structures for the transitional period; to adopt the measures proposed in the statement in principle; and to continue work on setting up structures in the transitional period that will halt the uncontrollable collapse of the country." Sobchak notes that the Russian deputies were almost unanimous for this, and that only eight were against.

At 1122 GMT Shcherbak speaks on behalf of Ukrainian deputies. [See this section for Shcherbak's speech.]

At 1125 GMT Shushkevich, acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, speaks on behalf of Belorussia. He reports what the Belorussian deputies have been saying. They have doubts about the formation of a new representative body. The proposals should be adopted in principle.

Deputy Adylov then speaks on behalf of Uzbekistan. Uzbek deputies support the adoption of these proposals as a basis. The congress should last three days.

Deputy Khusanbayev speaks on behalf of Kazakh deputies and says they also support the proposals. They regard food supplies and the consumer market as priorities. They believe the congress should last three days and that it should work constructively.

At 1130 GMT Kafarova, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, speaks on behalf of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani deputies support the proposals in principle. They want an additional point on the recognition of the integrity of republics within their existing borders. We need an economic community to extricate ourselves from the present difficult situation, he adds.

Deputy Gumbaridze then speaks on behalf of Georgia. [See this section for Gumbaridze's speech.]

At 1136 GMT Sherimkulov, chairman of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet, speaks on behalf of Kyrgyzstan. There will be confrontation if we do not listen to each other here, he says. We seek a reasonable solution to problems. Kyrgyz deputies have discussed the joint statement. In spite of shortcomings, the document can be approved in principle. Otherwise the country will be on the verge of catastrophe. Mutual recriminations should now stop. On 31 August the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet condemned the coup. We favor a new Union treaty, he adds. The independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan should be recognized by other republics. We wish the other republics that have declared independence well. He further notes that the Communist Party's activities have been suspended and its assets have been nationalized in the republic. The president of the country should be elected by the entire people, he adds. An economic union should be established without delay, as well as an agreement on defense. The State Council should be vested with real powers, he concludes.

A deputy then speaks on behalf of Tajik deputies. He expresses support for the joint statement. It is the only way to stabilize the situation, he says. Normal, good-neighborly relations should be preserved, regardless of the outcome of the negotiations on the Union. Tolerance and restraint are required, he concludes.

At 1144 GMT Ter-Petrosyan speaks on behalf of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. [See this section for Ter-Petrosyan's speech.]

At 1151 GMT Deputy Orazov speaks on behalf of Turkmenia. Orazov says Turkmen deputies support the joint statement and the creation of a council of representatives of people's deputies. He adds that they also support the State Council headed by Gorbachev.

Ion Khadyrke, representing Moldova, speaks. [See this section for Khadyrke's speech.]

At 1155 GMT Gorbachev says all republics have been heard, except Estonia—which says it will not speak. He adds that no view has been received from Latvia and Lithuania. Deputy Peters then speaks on behalf of Latvia. He pays tribute to Russia and Yeltsin for upholding democracy. We want friendly relations between Latvia and the new union, he adds. He submits a statement adopted by Latvian deputies, addressed to Gorbachev. He reads it. We ask you to issue a decree on the recognition of the independence of Latvia, as it was before 1940. This would be a durable guarantee of good relations between Latvia and the new union. Latvian deputies will support all democrats in all republics.

At 1159 GMT Gorbachev says the statements that have just been heard show there is agreement on the joint statement, although some criticism has been expressed. Therefore, he considers that the joint statement and the agenda have been discussed. A vote on the agenda, as proposed in the joint statement, is now possible.

Gorbachev then raises the question of putting the independence of the Baltic republics on the agenda. He wishes to have advice on this. He notes that some republics have already taken a position on this, while others have not yet stated their position. Gorbachev adds that perhaps consultations could be held today and the question placed on the agenda tomorrow. The question is not being removed from the agenda altogether, merely deferred. It is decided not to take a vote on this issue. The question of the agenda has now been settled, Gorbachev says. Now, he continues, speeches of up to

five minutes on procedural matters will be allowed from the floor. Inquiries will be allowed for two minutes. This proposal is passed by 1,447 to 149.

At 1210 GMT Gorbachev takes a vote on the proposal that the congress should last only three days. The vote is 1,337 for and 239 against.

Gorbachev then submits a draft proposal on an editorial commission. A Moldovan deputy says that Moldova wants Moshnyaga instead of Blokhin on the editorial commission because they reject Blokhin. Gorbachev says why not just add Moshnyaga. A vote on the inclusion of Blokhin is taken. This is rejected by 585 to 897. Moshnyaga is included instead. Proposals on membership of the editorial commission continue, with various deputies from different republics suggesting names. Gorbachev suggests a vote on the full list plus the additional names. This vote is 1,568 for and 47 against.

At 1220 GMT Gorbachev calls for a break of 30 minutes.

The relay ends. The relay resumes at 1300 GMT.

Yeltsin opens this session and gives the floor to Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. [See Kravchuk's speech in this section.]

At 1310 GMT Deputy Orlov calls for a move away from euphoria toward tackling the main issues: preservation of the Union, stabilizing money, legality, and establishment of new bodies of power. He calls for Supreme Soviet committees to give their appraisals. On the Council of Representatives, proposed this morning, his says that this body must not be confused with the Supreme Soviet. The two bodies should have different functions. The Council of Representatives should work out a new constitution while the Supreme Soviet should work out legislation. The coup has pushed economic issues into the background. However, he continues, the economy will come to the forefront any day now. The republics have now taken upon themselves responsibility for the economy. Unless there is a breakthrough in the economy within the next month and a half, the people will come onto the streets and sweep away everyone, democrats and reactionaries.

Orlov continues his speech by noting that it will take the republics at least ten years to attain real economic independence even though today we can congratulate them on political independence. The republics want their own currency, but then they will need their own borders, exchange rates, and customs. He gives figures for such operations to warn how expensive such a decision would be. The coup has opened the locks to all kinds of economic crimes. He notes that economic crimes have no republican borders so coordinated actions will have to exist. There has to be a common taxation policy throughout the Union—such taxes exist throughout the world. There needs to be a special law determining the contribution of the republics to the Union. There has to be a Union law on this.

At 1319 GMT Yeltsin interrupts to say that Orlov has run out of time.

Lubenchenko then addresses the congress. He says he has no doubt about the need for these steps. He only has doubts about the proposed Council of Representatives and the principle of proportionality. Secondly, Lubenchenko stresses that people's deputies are elected directly by the people, not by the local supreme soviets. Their mandate must be protected. On the control of law-enforcement bodies, he notes that human rights are being flouted throughout the country. He believes the Supreme Soviet should be retained as such, but with changes ensuring proportional representation by the republics. He believes Baltic deputies could remain as observers. The Supreme Soviet would prepare legislation for examination by the new State Council. Lubenchenko also makes further points on structural changes.

Travkin begins his address to the congress by saying the democratic party supports the preservation of the Union. However, he does not understand the term "commonwealth" which has been used regarding the new Soviet Union. He agrees with the transformation of the Federation Council into a State Council as this is a body that has the trust of the people. He calls for multiparty elections to the legislature and the State Council. He believes the Supreme Soviet should be dissolved. Travkin is wary about setting up a Council of Representatives. He believes the apparatus still remains which organized the coup. On the declarations of independence, he says they are not as yet the decisions of the people—they are the decisions of the Supreme Soviets. He feels that referenda must be held first.

At 1332 GMT Asanbayev says the main thing today is to find the correct path away from the coup toward stabilization of our common home. Unfortunately the coup has wrecked the Novo-Ogarevo process. We all realized during the coup how powerless we were, he notes. We should not be in too much haste to establish a rigid state structure. There is a need for flexibility. A union is needed for such issues as the economy, defense, and human rights. We must not allow the collapse of the Union. This would only aggravate the situation. The first thing we must do is establish an economic union, but it should not be forced on anyone. We can no longer do what we might have been able to do prior to the Union. On the USSR Supreme Soviet, Asanbayev says that it was alienated from the rest of the country. The Union Supreme Soviet should be dissolved, Asanbayev proposes, and work should be done to establish an interim Union legislature.

At 1340 GMT, Smirnov addresses the Congress, saying the coup was prepared over a very long time. He blames the coup on the military-industrial complex and its representatives in the CPSU Central Committee. For a long time, the latter accumulated power. Persecution of those who supported the coup is going on in the Army today, he claims. Smirnov claims top Army officials should be dismissed because they supported the coup.

The military press should also be cleaned out. Reform of the armed forces is the top priority, Smirnov says.

At 1345 GMT, Metropolitan Aleksiy II addresses the Congress. He says that we are witnesses of the recent dramatic events in our history. He quotes from the Bible recalling phrases about building houses out of sand. We are now suffering the result of years of spiritual devastation. Concern for the future of democratic legality is natural. He says that though the church has the right to condemn the perpetrators of the coup, we cannot meet evil with evil. There must be a fair resolution to problems. We must not build our new house on demagogy and anarchy, he adds. We have enormous responsibility to future generations. The basis of the future lies in the past. We must not forget our traditions, but build on them constructively. Aleksiy feels it is duty to say that although the Union has discredited itself, we cannot allow a collapse of our common Union and all that means for all the peoples of the USSR. The church believes we should search for the spiritual union of all our peoples. A Union treaty must be signed that would ensure the freedom and sovereignty of all republics. He assures deputies that the church will strive to improve the life of the people and wishes them wisdom and God's help in their work.

At 1354 GMT, Deputy Yudin asks deputies to look carefully at the document before them. He is concerned about the country's foreign policy. A vacuum of state power should not be allowed. Turning to defense, he says that the heads of republics have different approaches on this issue and many others. On UN recognition for the republics, he asks whether the USSR as a whole is to remain within the United Nations. Surely there needs to be a single body to represent all the republics, Yudin adds. He supports the point made by a Belorussian on preserving the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as a body made up of representatives of the republics. Without this, there will be no stabilization in the economy and no understanding between the republics during the transition period.

At 1359 GMT, Shushkevich speaks on behalf of Belorussia. [See this section for Shushkevich's speech.]

At 1405 GMT Deputy Samarin addresses the congress. He apologizes for being unprepared. He wonders how the people will regard this day. He condemns calls for the dissolution of the Union Supreme Soviet. What about all the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet he asks? Without this body how are we going to ensure the protection of civil and human rights? If we dissolve the Supreme Soviet, we face the Serbo-Croatian option, he asserts. A State Council would be a lone body, not elected by the people, and out of the people's control. What are we doing? What kind of deputies will we be. He appeals to Gorbachev as a Nobel Prize winner saying that such a sudden decision would be disastrous.

At 1411 GMT Deputy Sherimkulov is supposed to address the congress, but he is not ready, so Deputy Yuldashev speaks, noting the unexpected turn of events today. But bearing in mind the situation today, he says, little can be said in protest at the proposals made this morning. Uzbekistan, which he represents, is now independent and has no ill-intentions regarding other republics. We can no longer speak of a renewed Union, he says. This is a totally new formation of independent republics. He asserts that only together can the country ensure its defense and overcome the economic crisis. There should be equality of republics. No republic should have a higher status than any other. Uzbekistan will only agree to membership in a union under conditions of equality. Yuldashev supports Nazarbayev and backs the statement by Gorbachev and the other leaders. We must get down to work and be more constructive, he concludes.

At 1417 GMT Obolenskiy says he has often criticized the Supreme Soviet, but wonders why the Supreme Soviet has not been mentioned by the authors of the statement. [See this section Obolenskiy's speech.] His speech is applauded by the deputies.

At 1427 GMT Mamedov speaks on behalf of Azerbaijan. He categorically condemns the continuing actions taken by Armenia with regard to the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. He rejects various accusations regarding Azerbaijan officials and pleads for deputies to stop interfering in the affairs of other republics.

At 1430 GMT it is announced that Abasov has asked for his speech to be delayed until tomorrow. Deputy Blokhin then takes the floor. He finds it difficult to react to what has happened. The agenda seems to be changing so fast. He says the Soyuz group is ready for constructive work with all, but only if the Union structures are preserved. He proposes a coalition government of national accord which has shown its worth in other countries. The whole world and our own press regards our coup as strange. We cannot charge people with state treason where there is no state. Therefore the constitution must be adhered to. The coup faced the country with the possibility of civil war. Too many lawless actions have been taken since the coup. The banning of the CPSU has raised a dangerous precedent of collective guilt. It is absurd to blame people who had no contact with the president or the top leaders of the country who carried out the coup. This is a straight path to a witch-hunt. He calls for a special statement by the congress calling for no persecution at the local level.

At 1437 GMT an Armenian deputy says that if the coup had succeeded it would have meant the end to the aspirations of the republics. He proposes that the rights of the autonomous formations be taken into account. There should be consolidation of democratic forces and practical work to overcome difficulties. Conservative forces will continue to protest. He blames old cadre policy for the power gained by the leaders of the coup. He blames Union deputies for not going straight to Moscow to assemble a session when the coup broke out. Only if the country is brought out of the crisis can similar coups be prevented.

At 1445 GMT it is announced that Karasev will not speak. Velikhov then takes the floor. The crisis facing the country has two sides—drama and hope. We must proceed from respect for the will of the republics. But all the republics will recognize that certain joint structures are needed so we should not break everything so badly that we will have to build everything from scratch. Unfortunately, previous governments have not ensured that the structural systems that existed could also exist given the independence of the republics. Now we need to build an economic space that allows for the economies of the republics to develop and gain strength. If we destroy our science, we will not be able to restore it. Our science stretches across the republics. Science must be preserved. No one has spoken of this issue yet. Our industry is not able to protect science so it must be protected by the state. Despite the awful state of the Supreme Soviet, it has made a large number of laws and this legacy must be passed on. The republics should have the right of veto in the legislature over laws affecting them.

At 1451 GMT Kugultinov tells a parable of people striving for civilization. He sees in the statement given by Nazarbayev a way out of the country's crisis. But what about the autonomies, he asks. He is speaking on behalf of all the autonomies which have declared their sovereignty just as Russia has. The statement must include mention of these autonomies. He calls for the deputies of the "former" Union republics to recognize autonomies such as Tatarstan.

At 1457 GMT Yeltsin says that in light of speeches, the presidium proposes the Constitutional Supervision Committee and Committee for Legality assess them and examine the alteration of clauses of the statement.

At 1458 GMT Popov says there is no need for the Legality Committee to examine this. Yeltsin puts the presidums's proposal to a vote. It passes by a vote of 1,664 for, 32 against, and 22 abstentions.

At 1501 GMT announcements are given.

At 1502 GMT Yeltsin notes that Obolenskiy spoke for himself, not on behalf of any group. Yeltsin then announces that today's sitting is over. The relay then end.

Ukrainian Delegation Supports Statement

LD0209133391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Ukrainian Deputy Yuriy Nikolayevich Shcherbak at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! Speaking on behalf of the USSR People's Deputies from the Ukraine, I deem it necessary to state the following: By an overwhelming majority of votes, the Ukrainian delegation has supported the agenda and procedure of the Congress proposed by the president of the USSR and the leaders of the republics. We have also supported the proposal to hold a three-day congress, and the Ukrainian delegation asks that the fourth day be held in reserve.

The Ukrainian delegation has supported, as a whole, the statement by the USSR president and the leaders of the Union republics. It is true that during the discussion some very extreme viewpoints were expressed; the opinion of the majority, however, amounted to support of the remarks formulated by the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Kravchuk, which, in the opinion of the deputies, took insufficient account of the statements read by Comrade Nazarbayev. In particular, we consider that the questions of the political system of the interstate association which may emerge in place of the former USSR should not to be dealt with at the present congress. We should not become the slaves of any speculative schemes. The issues of providing for the vital needs of the population and maintaining the functioning of the economy in the period of transition must come first, and we therefore fully and completely support the discussion of economic matters and the immediate signing of an economic agreement.

The most substantial objections were aroused by the idea of drawing up a constitution for the Union of Sovereign States. We consider that the fact of the formation of independent states, including the Ukraine, which possess or are developing their own constitutions, in itself removes the need to adopt yet another constitutional superstructure. At the same time, it was proposed that a set of rules for relations between the states, similar to the procedures of the EC, should be drawn up for the transition period. The important idea was expressed that it is necessary to limit the transitional period, in a time sense, to the end of the year 1992. The opinion was expressed that, by analogy with the Helsinki process, we should hold a conference on security in the geopolitical space of the former USSR.

Much attention was paid to issues of defense and collective security. We agreed that these are exceedingly important issues which must be immediately discussed, and stressed that full unity is only needed on military-strategic issues. We emphasized the desire of the Ukraine to become a nuclear-free zone. While there was general agreement on the need to form a council of representatives of people's deputies, keen discussion arose on the actual machinery for electing deputies to this body.

During discussion of the question of a single economic space, it was noted that in the real conditions of the collapse of the Union's monetary and financial system, the only realistic way to defend the interests of the Ukraine is to set up a monetary system of our own. It is necessary to begin urgent talks on the gold foreign-currency reserve and outstanding debts.

And I want to say the following in conclusion: We have supported President Gorbachev, and the opinion has been expressed that he should be protected against

attacks, and supported, and his removal here at this congress should on no account be tolerated. Thank you. [applause]

Alekseyev Supports Statement

LD0209162191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1115 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Constitutional Supervision Committee, at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Dear people's deputies, dear president, comrades: First of all, I express regret that before the interval there was a violation of the standing orders, and this gave grounds for an arbitrary interpretation of the current processes which are of great importance for the country. Second, the essence of my groundless statement made this morning consisted of giving instructions to the committees for legislation and law and order, with the participation of our committee, because our committee cannot be instructed by the congress, although we are prepared to take its instructions on the point in question, to make an expert legal study of submitted proposals, to carry out a fairly juridical formulation of them, and in the shortest time possible to present the congress with documents in their juridically formulated form, so that a relevant and clear discussion may be conducted. Although there was no such instruction, we in our committee—and we are prepared to make a statement—and other departments of the Supreme Soviet, I think (Yuriy Khamzatovich Polyukov), have worked in this connection [sentence as heard]. I shall return to this point again.

Now to what is essentially the most important thing. The Constitution Supervision Committee quite definitely supports the statement. Let us speak plainly. Our union was not simply on the brink of collapse; it was already in a state of collapse. We were in a situation close to that of Yugoslavia. I think that this decision is the only one, if one rejects the bankrupt one that the whole people has repudiated. There is no other way for us. There is a substantial movement forward. The representatives of Armenia and the Ukraine are sitting at the table of the presidium. This is already a great achievement. And second, we should recognize the fact that since the putsch the country has become different. A real revolution has already started, an essentially real perestroyka. So let us clear the ground for this. Let us devote all possibilities to this. [passage omitted]

Many aspects which have now been proposed to us have to a certain extent not been formulated from the legal point of view, such as the agreeing of bodies and the order of changes to the constitution. Therefore I propose that we return to the following position: to instruct the Committee for Legislation to do the formulation. We are prepared to accept relevant proposals for taking part in this process, so that by tomorrow the documents on this matter may be written and distributed. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Deputy: Discuss Proposal

LD0209134891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1125 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Belorussian Supreme Soviet acting chairman Shushkevich at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed deputies and guests. Belorussia's proposals have effectively much in common with the remarks which have just been made by the representative of the Ukraine. Therefore, I shall not dwell on them. We think that the proposal which has been made should be adopted as a basis, and discussed at the congress.

It has been repeated with great urgency by the members of our delegation that the question of adopting the declaration—or rather of recognizing, by the congress—the declaration of the republics' independence, should be included into the agenda. We can, of course, only raise the question of recognizing the independence declaration of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. We confirmed the constitutional status of this declaration at the emergency session which has just taken place. We have doubts concerning the issue of forming a new...[changes himself] Our delegation has doubts concerning the issue of forming a new body of representatives.

In the opinion of a majority of Belorussian deputies, an overwhelming majority of Belorussian deputies, it would be better if the rotation, the principle of rotation of the Supreme Soviet were changed, that is, so that the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics were involved in it, and then there will be no need to set up a new body.

We support the suggestion that the proposal which has been made should be adopted as a basis.

Uzbek Deputy Urges 3-Day Session

LD0209154891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1126 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Uzbek Deputy Adylov at the Congress of USSR people's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed people's deputies. We too have thoroughly discussed the proposals which were submitted for today's Congress and we support it. I shall not go on repeating things—representatives of other republics who spoke before have also expressed their proposals. I support the adoption of these proposals as a basis. We shall, of course, thoroughly discuss today all the elements which are of interest to the Union republics. And I call on you to start constructive work as quickly as possible and not to get into discussions like we had at the Supreme Soviet session.

Today the country is in such an extremely difficult situation when it is necessary to take specific measures

urgently. That is why I call on you to complete the work of the Congress in three days and to adopt constructive solutions. [applause]

Kazakh Deputy Supports Statement

LD0209163591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1128 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Kazakh Deputy Yerik Asanbayev at USSR congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies: Appreciating that this is a question of our republic's principled position toward the statement by the USSR president and the leaders of the republics, I would like to say the following. The USSR people's deputies for Kazakhstan, the delegation of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet on the whole supports the statement and believes it will stabilize the situation in society. It resolves many previously controversial issues and establishes the necessary environment for speeding up radical transformations. That is why the statement should become the central subject of the congress debate and the basis for a solution.

At the same time we believe that we need to select and implement priorities—create state protection for these in actions and not in words. This, above all, concerns the food problem, the saturation of the consumer goods market, and the problem of housing. We have to understand that in view of our limited possibilities and the present state of the economy, we cannot set ourselves the task of moving the whole wall in one go. We also support the proposal that the Congress should work constructively and complete its work in at most three to four days. Thank you for your attention.

Azerbaijan Agrees With Ukrainians

LD0209140191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1130 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Chairman Kafarova at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] The delegation of people's deputies of Azerbaijan, having discussed the text of the statement, accepts it as a basis as a document which stabilizes the situation in the country. At the same time, we ask that a first point be introduced, on recognition of the state independence and sovereignty of the republic, the unshakeableness of its territorial integrity and of the existing borders between the republics. We have comments identical with the proposals of the Ukrainian delegation, and so I will not expound them now; they will no doubt figure in the discussion.

On the whole we need an economic community in order to extricate the country from its critical situation. We must have an agreement on the collective security of all the republics. We are in agreement with these proposals and accept the procedure and agenda, and on constructive discussions, without diverting the congress to deciding other questions.

Gumbaridze Reads Georgian Message

LD0209144891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1133 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Georgian Deputy Gumbaridze at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Deeply esteemed congress! Esteemed presidium! At this difficult and complex moment in our life, having discussed the appeal read by Comrade Nazarbayev, the delegation from the Republic of Georgia has agreed that we support that appeal, if, of course, account is taken of Georgia's message to the congress, which I will now—it is short—read to you.

We consider that since we aspire to a civilized society and civilized relations among peoples, there must be no confrontational flights or withdrawals, everything must be agreed among our peoples, so that in the future our neighborly existence may develop at the level of friendship, mutual respect, and regard for all interests—both economic and political.

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia elected on 28 October 1990 on the basis of multiparty democratic elections, acting on the will of the people of Georgia as unanimously expressed in the referendum of May 1991, has proclaimed the restoration of the national independence of Georgia on the basis of the Georgian Independence Act of 26 May 1918. The restoration of Georgia's national independence is fully in accord with the UN Charter and the Helsinki and Vienna Acts, which recognize and consolidate the right of all peoples to determine independently the political destiny of their countries.

The Republic of Georgia, desiring to take a worthy place in the community of states of the world, recognizes and equally ensures all the basic rights and freedoms of man and of national, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia hopes that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies will acknowledge the expression of the will of the people of Georgia and of the supreme body of state power of the republic and recognize the revived statehood of independent Georgia.

Our deputies associate themselves with this declaration by the Supreme Soviet of Georgia, and note—and this is very important—that they support the process of radical democratization, final liberation from totalitarianism, and the arrival of voluntary [as heard] in place of force that is taking place in these historic days, and welcomes the victory of the progressive forces over the putschists, noting the outstanding role in this of the Russian parliament. We, the USSR People's Deputies from the Republic of Georgia, in the new historic situation, fully support the statement by the Supreme Soviet of the

Republic of Georgia and ask you to include in the congress agenda the question of recognition of the independence of the Republic of Georgia. We also, as brothers, support the Baltic republics in this matter, and fraternal Moldova. Thank you.

Kyrgyz Leader Urges 'Decisive Steps'

LD0209164191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1136 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet Chairman Medetkan Sherimkulovich Sherimkulov at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies of the USSR and of Union republics! The extreme conditions which have occurred in the country as a result of the coup and events since have compelled us all to gather together here and jointly seek ways out of the situation that has come about. One could hardly call the option offered for the work of the extraordinary congress ideal, and all the more so when the agenda of its work was determined differently by the country's Supreme Soviet, and all deputies knew about this. The spontaneous and uncoordinated change in the procedure for the congress's work could, for this reason, give rise to justified comment and criticism on the part of the deputies. If we do not all now try to listen to and understand each other, a serious confrontation could occur here, one which will in turn influence the thinking of the country's masses in an acute form. For that reason, on behalf of the corps of deputies of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, I call upon you first and foremost to seek a sensible way out of the situation which has come into being.

In the time given over to the interval, the people's deputies of the USSR and of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan have examined and discussed the joint statement by the president of the USSR and the leaders of union republics, and have decided that despite its serious vulnerability and deficiencies, the document in question can be taken as the basis for serious discussion. Today the situation in the country is such that really decisive and effective steps must be taken, and that the attempt must be made to halt the processes of destruction and confrontation. Otherwise the country will find itself on the brink of catastrophe and disintegration. For that reason, the USSR people's deputies and those of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, from our republic, are calling on us first and foremost to put an end to mutual reproaches and accusations, and to embark on normal discussion of the situation which has formed in the country and on ways out of it.

Esteemed people's deputies! At the extraordinary session held on 31 August, the republic's Supreme Soviet sharply condemned the anti- constitutional and anti-state coup perpetrated by the close entourage of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Expressing the will and aspirations of our people, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan declared the Republic of Kyrgyzstan an independent, sovereign and democratic state. Its territory is integral and indivisible. In declaring independence, we emphasize our adherence to the universally recognized principles of international law, that we are guided by the principles of friendship and co-operation between peoples, that we will unswervingly observe the pledges which we have adopted, and that we will not permit confrontation in international and interethnic relations. We are in favor of concluding a new union treaty of sovereign states on an equal footing. We appeal to the parliaments of union republics and of the countries of the world community to recognize the independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. For our part, I should like to state from this rostrum that the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has recognized the independence of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian republics, and wishes their peoples prosperity, well being and happiness. [applause] We are ready to cooperate with them for the good of the interests of our peoples. The desire of the peoples for independence cannot now be halted. And the best thing is not to try to hinder this, but to understand as quickly as possible the inevitability of this objective process.

By decision of the parliament, the activities of the communist party have been halted in the republic, since it was not yet registered there, and its property has been handed over to the state. The coup of 19 August showed that the power of the USSR president elected by the union parliament proved to be less well protected than that of the president of the Russian Federation elected by the people. Evidently, the putschists understood well the existence of an Achilles' heel in the procedure of electing a president by the parliament. This is also evidenced by the confidence with which they announced at the famous press conference that they would gain the approval of the union parliament for their actions. For that reason, we support the idea of popular election of the country's president. The republic's Supreme Soviet, for its part, has scheduled 12 October for popular election of the president of the republic.

USSR people's deputies and representatives of the parliament of our republic support the immediate conclusion of an economic union, with the aim of insuring the normal functioning of the national economy, and the conclusion of an agreement on the principles of collective security in the sphere of defense and maintenance of the sovereignty and independence of every republic. We consider that for normal governance, it is necessary in the transitional period to give real powers to a state council, which would include, along with the country's president, the top leaders of the union republics. We consider that it would be possible to accept the agenda submitted to the Congress today in principle, and to embark on discussions. Thank you for your attention.

Tajik Deputy Supports Statement

LD0209162391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1140 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Tajik deputy Sabit Khabibuloyevich Negmatulloyev, president of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, at USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear comrades! On behalf of the USSR people's deputies from Tajikistan and of the delegation of the republic Supreme Soviet, I have been instructed to express principled support for the statement by the USSR president and of the highest leaders of the Union republics. We consider that this is the only way to stabilize the situation. From our viewpoint is is necessary to set September as the time limit for signing an economic agreement. In addition, we would like the text of the statement to indicate the conditions for preserving all established economic ties, including mutual obligations for inter-republican deliveries in the transitional period.

Comrades, the peoples of our country are entering into a difficult period of restructuring with regard to relations between nations and state. It is hard to foresee in what form our crisis-ridden Union will emerge from this epoch of transformation. Mindful of the responsibility of the people's deputies to their peoples, we consider that regardless of how the Union will be preserved, normal goodneighborly civilized relations between us must be preserved. In this connection, the people's deputies from Tajikistan declare that relations between our peoples must be built in accordance with the following principles, by which the people's deputies must be guided in their discussion of a given question:

We must respect the national and personal dignity of each person and each people. We must be guided in our relations with each other by goodwill and the desire for goodneighborliness and mutual understanding. We must strive to solve all disputes by negotiation and through the achievement of compromise. We must display tolerance and restraint with regard to various points of view and positions. Thank you.

Ter-Petrosyan Proposes Amendments

LD0209152291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1144 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyn at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed president, esteemed Presidium, esteemed deputies and guests. I had a speech prepared for the Congress, but in light of the statement we have heard from the USSR president and from the leaders of the republics there is no point in reading it to you, even less so since it largely echoes the content of the statement. It therefore seems more expedient for me simply to content myself with several observations on the statement which we are discussing.

First and foremost, I would like to note that this statement removes the alarm expressed in my intervention at the session of the Supreme Soviet concerning the danger of reanimating old structures of union authority which have long since proved their total bankruptcy. The president and the leaders of the republics have drawn the correct lesson from the new reality which has emerged following the coup d'etat, and instead of attempting to restore discredited old structures have opted for the path of creating new interrepublican bodies of authority. This represents an attempt—and the first and very significant step—toward making the transition from a unitary federative system to a community of free states with equal rights.

From this point of view, I would especially like to draw your attention to two points in the statement. The first concerns the republics' free choice of the form of their participation in the Union treaty. Together with full membership the possibility is admitted of associate membership or observer status, and so on. It is clear too that the treaty will not be the same as that drafted at Novo-Ogarevo. Naturally, Armenia will express its view of the Union treaty following the referendum set for 21 September.

The second point to which I would like to draw your attention is the seventh statement—the one guaranteeing the republics' right to become full members of the world community, the United Nations Organisation. By doing so the republics acquire the reliable protection of international law. I am sure that an application to this effect by the Congress will meet with a positive response from Western political circles which have an interest in removing social and political tension in the Soviet Union. And this will greatly help to remove that tension.

The statement provides a clear-cut answer also to two most important questions which are causing serious concern both to the peoples of the USSR and to the world community. The first of these is the preservation of the unity of the armed forces and the military-strategic area, which must be harmonized with the interests of the republics and with the compulsory implementation of radical reforms which are already being prepared by the USSR Ministry of Defense. I have just received a package of draft reforms bearing the signature of Defense Minister Shaposhnikov. The second is the preservation of the unity of the economic area, in which not only those republics who are willing to sign the Union treaty but also those who are preparing to secede from the USSR have an interest. Naturally, when this is being done, mechanisms have to be devised to protect the internal market in the republics. I would like, in this connection, to lend my support to the initative by the representatives of the republics to prepare, under the guidance of Academician Shatalin, a draft convention for creating an economic community.

To continue: While noting the topical relevance and the constructive nature of the statement which has been published, I nevertheless consider it my duty to express disagreement in principle with some of its provisions. First—this has already been mentioned by the representative of Ukraine and I am in full agreement with him—the setting-up of a Union constitution and Union legislation runs counter to the idea of a community of free states. And second, the statement provides no guarantees for the rights of autonomous formations. In this

connection, I would propose that point 6 in the statement should be reworded as follows: To adopt a declaration guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens regardless of their nationality, place of residence, membership of a political party or political views, and also guaranteeing the rights of national minorities and autonomous formations. In other words, adding those two words, and then going on to specify as follows: To raise the status of autonomous oblasts to that of autonomous republics and guarantee the sovereign rights of autonomous republics within the framework of the sovereignty of members of the community.

While noting the imperfections of the statement under discussion, I would at the same time acknowledge that it represents a radical step toward the creation of a new society. For this reason, I call on you to give it your support for the sake of averting possible fresh cataclysms and of building a community of truly free states. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Turkmen Deputy Supports Statement

LD0209161591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1151 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Turkmen Deputy Kurban Muradovich Orazov at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] From Turkmenia, Deputy Orazov. I have notes of all the republics. Are there any more from the republics still wishing to speak?

[Orazov] We, the USSR people's deputies from the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], support the statement of the USSR president and the leaders of the union republics. And we also support the creation of a council of representatives of the people's deputies on the principle of equal representation of the union republics by 20 deputies and the creation of a state council comprising the USSR president and the highest officials of the union republics, to solve in a coordinated way domestic and foreign policy questions affecting the common interests of the republic. This decision has been taken at a meeting of the USSR people's deputies from the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Good. I have no more notes.

Moldovan Deputy: Independence on Agenda

LD0209162291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1153 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Ion Khadyrke, first vice chairman of the Moldovan parliament, at USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed president, esteemed people's deputies: The deputies of Moldova have discussed, and are prepared to take as a basis for discussion at this congress, the statement by the president and the leaderships of other sovereign republics. At the same time I have the honor of bring to your notice the following:

Taking account of the irreversibility of the democratization processes now taking place; the assertion of freedom, independence, and national unity and the establishment of law-based states; and affirming the equal rights of all peoples and their right to self- determination in accordance with the UN Charter, the Helsinki Act, and the norms of international law, the democratically-elected parliament of the Republic of Moldova on 27 August 1991 proclaimed the Republic of Moldova to be a sovereign, independent, and democratic state. In keeping with the regulations of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, USSR people's deputies elected from the Republic of Moldova propose that the question of recognizing the independence of the Republic of Moldova and the independence of all republics that have declared independence at this time should be included on the agenda of the congress. A declaration of independence backed by the signatures of 277 deputies of the republic's parliament and an appeal from the president of the Republic of Moldova are offered to this extraordinary congress. In this way, the position of the USSR people's deputies from the Republic of Moldova at this Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies is founded exclusively on the principles and premises contained in the independence declaration by the Republic of Moldova's parliament.

As an independent and democratic state, a single and indivisible subject in international law and a member of the United Nations, the Republic of Moldova—where the rights and freedoms of citizens will be guaranteed irrespective of their nationality or political views—will maintain mutually beneficial and multilateral economic, cultural, and other ties with all states, including first and foremost the Union of Sovereign States, through the conclusion of appropriate agreements. Thank you for your attention. [faint applause]

Latvian Delegate Urges Recognition

LD0209141991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1155 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Latvian deputy Yenovich Peters at the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed president of the Union of Republics, high parliamentary gathering. On behalf of an independent state, the Latvian Republic, I, as a representative of my country's government, bow my head before Russia, before the people of Russia, before President Yeltsin, who saved peace, democracy, and the future of our children. Supporting democrats who are ready to adopt decisive measures, wishing fundamentally and radically to establish friendly relations between Latvia and the new Union, on the basis of legal documents of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia and a universal poll of the people of Latvia, I present an address from the people's

deputies elected from Latvia in 1989, to the president of the USSR, which says—allow me to read it:

Most Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich. We the USSR People's Deputies elected from Latvia in 1989 submit to you a proposal to issue immediately a presidential decree about the recognition of the state independence of the Latvian Republic, a full subject of international law until 1940. A positive solution of this issue would be a firm guarantee of good mutual relations between the Republic of Latvia and the Union which is being created.

And in conclusion allow me to confirm once again that at this Congress the entire deputies' corps from Latvia will be supporting all democrats in all republics.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Kravchuk: Power Resides in Republics

LD0209173491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies! Our comments, to be more precise, the comments of the Ukrainian deputies, on the statement by the president and highest leaders of the republics were delivered by people's deputy Shcherbak. They reflect our shared opinion and I will not dwell on them. With account taken of the situation that has taken shape since the victory of democracy over the coup and of the revolutionary changes in many republics, the proposals set forth within the statement by the president and highest leaders of the republics reflect today's realities and can be agreed with in the main.

Our comments boil down to the following. The main thing is that the congress should proceed from the fact that today power in reality resides in the republics, self-determination is with the peoples, and we think that the supreme aim of the congress is to assist the peoples of the republics in this matter. Today we should, in our opinion, resolve those issues whose time has now come, and remove from the agenda those issues that lack clarity and are not ready for debate. In our opinion, the latter include the question of drawing up a new constitution.

Concerning a treaty on a union of sovereign states, negotiations may be commenced by those republics who are ready for this, and have made their stance clear. The Ukraine has promulgated an act of independence, and can set forth its position only after its referendum on this issue. Although it is now clear that realistically discussions can be pursued only along the lines of a confederative union or commonwealth. I believe that for the congress and bodies of power of all the republics, the most important thing today is the problem of how to prevent an uncontrolled collapse of the economy, so that our people will not perish under the debris.

The delegations of Russia and Ukraine, in conjunction with the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have expounded their position on this issue. Our joint communique has been published in the press. An inter-republican, inter-state body must be set up without delay—a council or a committee, let's say—and must be endowed with the rights and powers to take this major problem in hand and ensure the vital activity of all spheres of the national economy and, that means, people's needs, too.

We beg all the republics not to take advantage of the indecision and anarchy that currently exists in the country in order to seize for themselves a greater share of what has been created by all the peoples; because this is currently a very acute problem, and the people are awaiting our decisions, the decisions of the congress. The people are weary of fruitless discussions about political problems. The people... and these discussions must not swallow up our resources. A rapid process of self-determination of the peoples is currently underway. They are themselves deciding their destiny. And until that process is completed, I think that discussing and tackling these issues at the congress is premature and, above all, pointless.

Now for a few general comments and suggestions. We are ready to take the most active part in setting up inter-state structures in the economic sphere, in coordinating the management of the national economy, tackling issues of internal and foreign policy according to agreed principles, and drawing up a concept of collective security and reorganization of the armed forces. The fundamental principles from which we proceed should be the following: We are embarking on a new stage in relations with the republics, and this road must be a road of justice. We are starting afresh. And therefore all the peoples are equal. No one is to interfere in the internal affairs of others, and we repudiate dictates and all statements relating to territorial integrity. Common issues—of which there are very many—are to be resolved through negotiation. We already have experience. Russia and Ukraine have found ways to solve this acute problem.

Democratic, law-governed states, if they truly are such, are obliged to live according to the laws, to observe international legal norms and to live according to honor and conscience. I should like to declare from this lofty tribune that we have no territorial claims against either Russia or other states. The Ukraine regards mutual relations with Russia as being of paramount importance in its policy, and will continue to do so. This derives from our history and from the fundamental interests of our peoples and of those Russians who live on the territory of the Ukraine.

This is also our common responsibility to all the peoples of the country and to the world. We must show an example of new mutual relations which are approved by democratic states. Apart from the above, we deeply believe that they should be based on justice, friendship

and mutual understanding. We appreciate very highly the contribution by Russia and Muscovites to foiling the coup and defending democracy. We welcome Russian democrats but we cannot welcome those who, through the mass information media, have already divided the Ukraine. We express regret in connection with this and we hope that democrats, Russian democracy will be wise enough to remove this acute problem from the agenda. A competition is underway currently to show who is a greater democrat and which one of the republics is closer to the lofty ideals of democracy. There is a lot of talk around that. I should like to cast aside any suspicions to the effect that a totalitarian and nomenclature system will be preserved in the Ukraine in the guise of independence. Over the eight days of independence we have adopted so many decisions aimed at destroying this system that it will be already impossible for it to exist. I invite those who have doubts to come to the Ukraine and to have a look. It is with great decisiveness that we have got down to implementing radical economic reforms on market principles, we are taking real steps aimed at building democratic institutions of power, and protecting the rights of the individual and those of ethnic minorities. We are striving to do everything possible to prevent passions from flaring up and to stop lawlessness so that innocent people do not suffer. Those guilty should be given political and juridical appraisal.

Also, I should like to speak about the issue of the congress recognizing the independence of republics. On the 24th, at its Supreme Soviet, the Ukraine proclaimed an independence act. But it is not raising this issue at the congress, since we believe that this is a sacred right of peoples themselves. To include this issue in the agenda is tantamount to asking the congress a permission to leave.

And the last thing. Today indeed is the moment of truth for democracy. One should not be only thinking of festivals. There is a threat of an organized action by extreme right forces. There should be firmness, vigilance and practical steps. There should also be help. All those who hold peace and calm dear, who are interested in the victory of democracy on this vast territory on a global scale should support it, also economically. I appeal to world states and businessmen to cast aside any doubts on this account. Thank you. [applause]

Belorussian Deputy on Putsch Effects

LD0209174891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1359 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman! Esteemed people's deputies. Citizens of the country. The Congress rostrum is no place for retrospective analysis, but the information blockade in which Belorussia found itself after the putsch venture obliges me to engage in just such an analysis. I consider it to be my duty as a citizen and my primary responsibility to reject as completely unfounded the accusation which has been leveled against my republic of approving the actions of those who perpetrated the putsch. According to reliable information, neither the Parliament nor a single member of the government of the republic appointed by the Supreme Soviet, nor the Belorussian military district and its commanders recognized the State Council for the State of Emergency [SCSE] or made any actions to support or even approve the anti- constitutional coup. The only organization in the republic which was in solidarity with those who perpetrated the putsch, and which even managed to put out an official statement by its Bureau, was the Communist Party of Belorussia, whose activity has been suspended by a decision of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and an investigation is under way.

The reasons for what happened are not hard to find. By the time of the coup in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [BSSR], nearly all the republic's structures were a kind of screen. As before power was in the hands of the party apparatus. It refused to be pushed aside from power, even in the formal sense, since in some places this formality threatened to become a reality. It is instructive that an immediate and principled assessment of what was happening in the country came indeed from Minsk city, Gomel city, and other soviets of people's deputies which had executive bodies of power in which the party majority was not overwhelming. It was the party which began perestroyka and it was indeed the party that did all it could to put a rapid end to it.

It is the duty of the Congress to eliminate the prerequisites for this sort of thing to be repeated in the future.

Belorussia thanks Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia, Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, the Russian Parliament, the people of Moscow, and the people of Leningrad for their courage and steadfastness in suppressing the putsch. We bow our heads in memory of those who died. We would very much like wisdom to prevail over the joy of victory, and that the victors should not permit statements which could be interpreted as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign republics. That type of action would not promote a reduction in the tension which continues to exist or a reduction in the probability that conflicts will break out which would involve bloodshed.

The putsch acted as shock therapy for the BSSR Supreme Soviet. It freed many deputies of the illusion that party methods of leadership are acceptable and pushed them to be more decisive in continuing democratic reforms. A decision on the political and economic independence of the BSSR has been adopted. The declaration on the state sovereignty of the BSSR has been given the status of constitutional law.

We state firmly that the Belorussian State can only be seen as independent. The decisions of the Belorussian

parliament do not close the road toward a Union treaty but they are compatible only with a Union of equals. We must find a form for precisely this kind of truly democratic union. It is my profound conviction that in the new union, the parliament can be only bi-cameral, furthermore the laws adopted by the lower chamber—a Soviet of the Union for example—would only have the force of law if they are approved by the upper house—a Soviet of the Republics for example—in which delegations from the republics would have the right of veto.

Esteemed People's Deputies: Belorussia continues to be weighed down by the problem of Chernobyl—23 percent of our territory and 20 percent of the people of the republic are even today directly subjected to the affects of radioactive ash. The planned compensation from this year's all-Union budget is approximately one-third less than what is required for the victims to maintain acceptable living conditions. A republic, almost one third of whose citizens paid for victory in the Great Patriotic War with their lives, is even now paying for an all-Union disaster with the health and lives of its citizens. Helping Belorussia to reduce the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster is the sacred duty of all republics, regardless of what their new status might be.

On 30 August, there was a session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I have been instructed in its name to make a statement about Belorussia's recognition of the indepedence of the states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and to express delight at their determination and courage in their fight for the independence they have obtained. [applause] We are certain that historical economic and cultural ties with our good neighbors will continue to expand and grow stronger.

Finally, the most important thing. Ethnically, Belorussia occupies a territory which is significantly larger than that which today lies within the BSSR. One of the reasons for such a situation is the acts of Stalin such as the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

Fully acknowledging the situation which has arisen and appreciating the feelings of those Belorussians who have found themselves outside Belorussia due to the unjust reshaping of borders, the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet considers that there is nothing more dangerous than raising the issue of changing or reshaping existing borders. No one will gain anything from these measures, and new centers of tension, inter-ethnic conflicts, bloodshed, and the irreversible collapse of the state will ensue. We state this firmly and without hesitation.

Now my final point. The joint statement by the president and the highest officials of the republics may be subjected to serious criticism. In fact it was formulated over a period of six or seven hours on the basis of the proposals of the USSR president, and at night as well. But it was arrived at over many months and days of intensive work by all those who signed it. Fundamental steps toward the sovereignty of the republics, reorganization of the unified armed forces, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB, the end of diktat and tutelage of the all-Union Ministry of Foreign Affairs in resolving issues of foreign relations, and finally the principle of voluntary membership and various forms of membership—these were all things for which the democratically inclined USSR people's Deputies have been campaigning.

I call upon you to support the Congress decision ensuring the implementation of the proposals contained in the statement.

Thank you for your attention.

Obolenskiy Favors Gorbachev Ouster

LD0209183291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1417 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Deputy Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Obolenskiy at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed People's Deputies. I have quite frequently criticized, indeed very sharply, our supreme body of power, the Supreme Soviet. Today I would like to point out to you that from the very start of the sitting, even the term Supreme Soviet itself has not been uttered in preceding speeches in this hall. This is, at the very least, strange. The group of heads of the Union republics, despite all my respect for them, having shamelessly borrowed the entire constructive part of their decision from the corresponding decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, did not even mention the latter in their statement. They have, on the other hand, made a destructive contribution by proposing the formation of two unconstitutional bodies of power—the State Council and the Council of Representatives.

I believe that the chairmen of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet have betrayed the bodies they head in this hall today. They have not implemented a single decision. [applause] They have not implemented a single decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted within the framework of preparations for this congress. They have not even presented the agenda proposed by the session for examination by the congress.

Figuratively speaking, the intense week's work of the supreme body of legislative power along with the work of the organizing commissions has been tossed on to the rubbish heap, while the president of Kazakhstan, Comrade Nazarbayev, whom I respect, has been offered the role of the legendary sailor Zheleznyak [a sailor who participated in dissolving the Constituent Assembly in 1918] in forcing an ultimatum statement to the congress. [applause]

As a direct witness of the intense week's work by our parliament, I would like to draw your attention to the results of the sixth extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Fifteen decisions and two laws are the result of the six days of intense work. [passage omitted]

This list testifies convincingly that after the ending of the coup d'etat, not only did USSR President Comrade Gorbachev, as he put it himself, return to Moscow a different person, but that the Supreme Soviet also demonstrated a qualitatively different style of work. Perhaps the fact that it was liberated from the evil genie of Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov—who for two and one-half years used his refined talent to play on the lack of experience, and at times, on the weak strings in the hearts of certain deputies—also played a role in this.

As a result of the coup's defeat, the wind of democratization has swept to the top level of executive power in the country, which has until now served as the stronghold of reactionary forces. A real opportunity for a breakthrough in the sphere of economic reforms emerged on the basis of the formation of a coalition government of popular accord. In these circumstances the leadership of the republics willing to sign the Union treaty on 18 August began, on the 26th, to take steps toward the final dismantling of Union power.

I realize that my time is up. May I finish off in two minutes? Thank you. Perhaps this means that the dictatorship of the conspirators would have suited the heads of republics better than the preservation of a constitutional system. I do not want to believe this. Perhaps it is time to stop treating the Constitution like a prostitute, adapting it every time to please a new courtier. [applause] We have already managed by our experiments on it to bring the country to the edge of destruction. After all, in society, there should be a basis somewhere of stability, law, and order. The Constitution determines the degree of legitimacy of power. Violence against the former deprives the latter of respect, removes the moral fuse from society, and gives its amoral section the right to resistance through any methods.

It is precisely from violence against legitimate power that all civil wars have begun, including our own, which began not with the October Revolution, which was perceived by society as the substitution of one provisional power for another, but from the breaking up of the Constituent Assembly.

Esteemed USSR People's Deputies, I appeal to you to remember that all of us, or at least two-thirds—I can vouch for that—received our mandate from the hands of the people. We all have the right to authority and the corresponding responsibility, no less than the people's deputies of the republics. The people who gave us the right to power came out unequivocally in favor of the preservation of the Union as a single state on 17 March. We, by virtue of our position, are obliged to carry out their will. We have undertaken responsibility for the fate of the country for 5 years, in accordance with the law and the will of the people. Yes, central power has been weakened. It can easily be taken away, even simply by dispersing us from this hall, not to mention through physical elimination. But we have no right to give it up with our own hands.

On 19 through 21 August, the USSR Supreme Soviet was unable to stand up to the conspirators, and it was left up to ordinary people to take to the squares and stand up to them. Today our hour has come and we are obliged to rise to the defense of the constitutional order. If we are unable to keep authority in our hands then we are bound by our fate to demonstrate vividly to the whole world that this authority has been usurped, in order at least to afford the right to resist self-styled saviors of the fatherland.

Finally—so as not to infringe the regulations—I should like to make some specific proposals appropriate at this time.

Bearing in mind that our president issued decrees that have been officially acknowledged by the Constitution Supervision Committee as running counter to the Constitution, that he was unable to carry out his duty as a guarantor of the rights and freedoms of citizens, that he permitted a conspiracy against constitutional order to be hatched among those in his closest entourage—including the fact that he bears personal responsibility for nominating and insistently promoting the candidature for the vice presidency of a man who was to become the direct head of the conspiracy—and also bearing in mind the statement he supported on introducing nonconstitutional bodies of authority, then I consider that we are entitled to place on the agenda the question of removing USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from office.

Second, we need to resolve the question of electing a chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Third, the question of the temporary transfer—on the basis of Article 127/7 of the USSR Constitution—of the president's powers to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Fourth—and last—in accordance with Article 127/7(i) of the USSR Constitution, the question of direct elections of the whole people for the president of the USSR, to be held within a period of three months.

Unless we deal with these matters we do not have the right to leave this hall. We might simply not be allowed to assemble again here. Thank you. [applause]

Sobchak, Alekseyev News Conference on Congress

LD0209181991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—"The congress could turn into a continuation of the coup." This thought was expressed today by USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak at a press conference which took place during a break between sittings of the extraordinary fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies. He bases this on the fact that there are still many people in our country who would like to turn back the clock.

In the view of the mayor of Leningrad, the putschists reckoned that their statements and actions would be given the form of legality at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And as events showed, the calculations were not groundless. Today, said Sobchak, the question of "how to more rapidly stop the collapse of common state structures" is also on the agenda.

The proposal arose at the congress to give republics the right to join the United Nations. But this proposal, in Sobchak's view, comes more from the sphere of political illusions. Membership costs certain means, which many republics cannot afford. In his view it is more important today to provide a minimum standard of living for one's own citizens.

Commenting on the discussion at the congress of the "Ten plus One" statement, Konstantin Lubenchenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation and Law and Order, told journalists that a powerless center, in his view, will never be able to become a guarantee against interethnic conflicts.

Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Constitutional Supervision Committee, told those present at the press conference that it is possible that soon we will not need a USSR Constitution. He added that a certain type of treaty and human rights declaration will probably soon go into force.

Alekseyev on Coup Charges

LD0209184891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Interview with Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Constitutional Control Committee, by unidentified correspondent on 2 September in foyer at USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow; from the "TV Inform" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] From morning up to lunch much was heard [in the Congress], especially from members of the Soyuz group, to the effect that today a constitutional coup is taking place in the Kremlin. Isn't that putting it too strongly?

[Alekseyev] I think that we have simply given grounds for this due to a certain incorrectness and the procedure which was violated this morning. All of this could have been done on a fairly good basis in accordance with the standing orders, and then there would be no grounds for such a statement.

As regards a coup, well there's a revolution going on. The constitutional processes must correspond adequately to those current revolutionary processes. I think that our constitution, our constitutional principle, gives a basis for this.

[Correspondent] Vocabulary should be chosen with more care.

[Alekseyev] Vocabulary should be chosen more carefully, of course. To say after this that this is a new State Committee of the State of Emergency, well this is an insult to what is going on at the moment. Because if anything of a major and democratic nature is taking place, then it is now at the congress. Nothing more major has happened. [video shows interview in congress foyer]

Supreme Soviet

'Text' of Resolution on Congress Agenda

LD3008122591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet "on questions proposed for inclusion on the agenda of the extraordinary fifth USSR Congress of People's Deputies" has been published here today. Its text follows below:

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

To recommend that the following questions be put forward for discussion by the extraordinary fifth Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR:

1. On the political situation in the country and urgent measures to overcome the consequences of the coup d'etat (report by USSR President M.S.Gorbachev).

2. On the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

3. On the vice president of the USSR.

4. On the declaration of human rights and freedoms.

5. On the appeals by the Lithuanian Republic, the Latvian Republic, and the Estonian Republic for the recognition of their declarations of independence.

6. On the renewal of the membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

7. On the introduction of changes into the Constitution of the USSR and other legislative acts of the USSR.

8. On the procurator general of the USSR.

9. On the chairman of the Credentials Commission of the USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies.

Commission Supports Baltic Independence

PM0109194591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[G. Shipitko article; "Parliamentary Commission in Favor of Recognizing Baltic Independence"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations "reacted positively to an appeal from USSR people's deputies for recognition of the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia."

At a 30 August sitting the commission members unanimously decided to back the appeal from people's deputies on the recognition of independence and also voiced the opinion that the question of discussing the appeal should be included on the agenda of the Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies due to open 2 September. In its decision the commission deemed it necessary to voice confidence that these republics would ensure guarantees that human rights and those of national minorities would be observed in accordance with the norms of international law.

Baltic representatives gave assurances that their states would not flout peoples' rights and that their relations with all other state formations on USSR territory would be based on the principles of mutual economic, political, and cultural interest. Given that roughly 30 countries have recognized Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian independence, it would be wrong for the Supreme Soviet to lag behind the world community. "That would run counter to the course of history."

Notwithstanding the unequivocal nature of this decision on the part of the Supreme Soviet commission, only the Congress of People's Deputies is entitled to give it juridical, legislative force. But even if this decision is made, it was noted at the sitting, it is still necessary to carry out the difficult and complex work of resolving a whole series of issues—primarily defense and economic issues—between political recognition of independence and secession from the USSR.

Political & Social

IZVESTIYA Interviews KGB Chief Bakatin

PM0309151591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, by S. Mostovshchikov, date not specified, first paragraph is editorial introduction, featuring comments from Bakatin aide V. Nikonov: "Vadim Bakatin: The Structure of the State Security Organs Was a Danger to the State"]

[Text] The door to entrance number 1, the chairman's entrance, at the KGB's Lubyanka complex was locked from within. I rang the bell, the massive door opened a fraction and in the chink there appeared an officer in a field service cap who said softly but inquiringly: "Hello." There was a second man behind him. The elevator opened at the fourth floor, in the reception anteroom. In the reception room itself were some chairs and a table with newspapers so carefully arranged that it was obvious: Either they are not read or they have been meticulously arranged that way. There was a desk with telephones and staffers who until recently would lift the receivers and say: "Comrade Kryuchkov's office." Comrade Kryuchkov has been arrested. In the office behind the door now is Vadim Bakatin, the new chairman of the USSR KGB.

Vyacheslav Nikonov, USSR KGB chairman's aide, is 35 years old, a doctor of historical sciences and formerly secretary of the Moscow State University History Department Party Committee, worker of the CPSU Central Committee, and staffer of the USSR president'a apparatus:

[Nikonov] Bakatin said to me: You must help me. I agreed. Although I am still trying to come to terms with it: the KGB... Who would have thought it? No, well, I understand it all—the KGB is a serious professional organization. But on the other hand... I did not regard the KGB with revulsion but with some caution. But I am here to work. In 3 hours they registered me officially and gave me an ID card. Why have I done this? You must understand, it is very interesting working with Bakatin. He is a man with quite a reputation, a politician, and interesting individual. When he was just beginning his preelection campaign for the presidency I went to him myself and said that I wanted to help him. And since then... And I... What about me? My wife told me that I was mad. [Nikonov ends]

[Mostovshchikov] Vadim Viktorovich [Bakatin], how has your family reacted to your appointment?

[Bakatin] My family? I haven't seen my children for the past 4 days. Only my wife. She cried. She said: Vadim, what will become of us now? I could not reassure her. She still says that our son cannot resign—he has had to sign 29 clearance sheets. A son of mine served in the KGB, you see...

[Mostovshchikov] Why is he resigning?

[Bakatin] He has been dismissed.

[Mostovshchikov] Who dismissed him?

[Bakatin] I did.

[Mostovshchikov] Why?

[Bakatin] No reason.

[Mostovshchikov] ?!

[Bakatin] Why are you surprised? I do not think that I should have subordinates who are in any way related to me.

[Mostovshchikov] I see. Family ties are clear. But how did you personally feel when you switched to the Lubyanka? Shock, surprise, disappointment? Did anything strike you in particular? Did you ever see yourself in the role of KGB chairman?

[Bakatin] I cannot tell a lie—I did, but did I give it serious thought?.. No. Well, friends phoned and we discussed all the rumors. You, they said, specifically you. No, I did not measure myself up for this job.

But as for shocks and surprises... I wasn't surprised at anything, even when I familiarized myself more or less with the KGB structure. If you strip away from it all that

is superfluous and absolutely unnecessary, the committee will have forces considerably smaller than, for instance, the Interior Ministry.

You see, the most terrible thing is that the KGB in its old form had an absolute monopoly of government communications, total surveillance, secrecy, the encrypting and decrypting of documents, the protection of the USSR's borders and even of the president. That, I am sure, played the decisive role in the coup. The danger for the Soviet Union was precisely in the very structure of the security organs—that's the paradox! My task is to make the KGB an organization which really safeguards this country's security, not one that spends its time studying its citizens' attitudes and protecting the upper echelons of power from them.

Let everyone do his own job. The government protects itself, the law enforcement agencies defend the interests of the individual and property, and we should engage solely in intelligence and counterintelligence work and, if you like, crime among the top Soviet state officials. The rest is none of our business...

From a conversation with V. Bakatin's aide:

The canteen here is good. Better than in the Kremlin or at the Government building. It is simply vile there, you know. After all, over there meals are prepared for the leadership individually and brought directly to their offices. But here... The kitchen is good. Admittedly, there are several canteens here. I do not know what it is like in the others. I haven't got my bearings in this building at all yet. I have to get used to it all, to settle in.

Take my safe—such a tiny little thing. But the instructions run to three pages—codes, buttons. I tried to press something or other and three minutes later two men came in. They asked: What is wrong with the safe? I have no idea—I am an arts man. And they say: "Permission to enter?" "Permission to leave?" Then there is this post of mine—the previous occupant was a major general. Have you seen my new ID card? This is where my officer's personal number should be. I haven't got one. In principle it is customary to get oneself certified for a rank. But Bakatin is not recommending that. [End of Bakatin aide's remarks]

[Mostovshchikov] Vadim Viktorovich, it is said that Gorbachev proposed promoting you, isn't it?

[Bakatin] Yes. But I refused. Why? In general I think that we are nearing the stage where this post will be filled by a civilian.

[Mostovshchikov] Are you a general?

[Bakatin] A lieutenant general.

[Mostovshchikov] Do you wear a uniform?

[Bakatin] I have worn one, I think, three times... No, twice. The first time was on Militia Day in 1988. I did not know then what to do about it... Do you have to wear it all the time, or don't you?. And I wore it again in 1989, also on Militia Day. I probably won't wear it again.

[Mostovshchikov] Do you have a personal bodyguard?

[Bakatin] Yes, that's a question... At present I do not have a bodyguard. I have never had one, after all. Even when I began working at the Security Council. Although I was due one according to my rank. Plekhanov, who was chief of the KGB protection service but is now under arrest, said to me then: We are obliged to protect you. I sent him a note: I do not want protection.

But now... A personal bodyguard is a serious and, if you like, even a political question. After all, I have taken charge of a department which will work on very serious and, it may be said, dangerous matters. In general, I do not know. I must think about it. At the moment I have no personal bodyguard.

[Mostovshchikov] As I understand it, you do not have it in either a direct or figurative sense. The government protection directorate has already been transferred to the jurisdiction of the government, then?

[Bakatin] Yes, it has, and the KGB still has a lot to divest itself of. Let's look at the structures. Is the intelligence service necessary? It is. And perhaps it would be worth assigning it to a separate organization? But if you write about this, do write four "buts." I am not sure yet. I am still thinking... In short, put it this way: It is necessary...

Counterintelligence? There is no doubt that this is the KGB's business. Military counterintelligence? Let the military deal with that. The border troops... Is it necessary to protect the border? It is. But the KGB is irrelevant there. That is not our business. Government communications? They will be maintained by a separate department. Perhaps the government "high-ups" will hive it off to businessmen for a lot of money—by all means. Encrypting, decrypting, the special forces, defense of the constitutional system, the directorate of inspection, and so forth... We need to look into this. We will need something, of course, but not on such a scale or in such a form. The operational technical directorate, for example. I regard it as it essential, but only for carrying out the tasks of the new KGB, about which I have already spoken.

Then we have the protection and the functioning of government dachas. Let the government look after the dachas. The investigations directorate? Necessary. An analysis directorate? Undoubtedly so. Any serious organization should have a good idea of its prospects. The military construction directorate? Well, it is basically concerned with the construction of border installations and accommodation for staffers. I have already spoken about the border, and as for construction... We need it for the time being. So, what next? The personnel directorate. It is necessary, but has to be reduced. The secretariat? Necessary. The KGB Higher School. We will look at it. And finally the archives... The archives must be handed over...

[Mostovshchikov] I would like to dwell in particular on the following point. You will certainly already have encountered the demand for the list of covert operatives to be revealed, have you not?

[Bakatin] Yes. I want to say immediately that I will not in any circumstances ever reveal those lists. That would have the effect of immediately splitting society. Not in any circumstances!!! Think about it. For example, an attempt to "recruit" my wife was made when she was a student, but she refused. But she remains on file! There are thousands of such examples. And then, many people become agents, I do assure you, not through choice.

If something has to be done here, then let us pass a normal law on operational investigation activity so that the secret service is set up in a civilized fashion rather than on the basis of some administrative ordinances written who knows when. There can be no doubt here that the secret service is necessary. They exist in all civilized countries.

[Mostovshchikov] And what do you think about KGB staffers who operate under "cover" of various, let's put it this way, civilian jobs?

[Bakatin] Let us see what is involved here. There are intelligence officers who do actually have a legal and illegal job. Sorry, but how else do you propose that they do their intelligence work? The officers of the so-called operational reserve who are planted in various organizations to become universal eyes and ears are another matter. I am opposed to such a structure. I have ordered that the lists be brought to me so that I can recall them all.

[Mostovshchikov] I would also like to ask you about telephone tapping and the opening and inspection of correspondence. Do you know anything about this and do you intend to do anything about it?

[Bakatin] I do not know anything as yet—I simply have not had the time. However, I do think that I will be looking into it. For the time being I have relieved from his post the chief of the 12th Directorate, which, as I understand it, deals with this. I appointed to the vacant post a woman general and ordered her to curtail all such activity. There is a law and it provides for tapping. But only with the sanction of a prosecutor and where criminal proceedings have been instituted and there is a real benefit for the investigation. These cases must be of a sufficiently serious level. That's it...

[Mostovshchikov] Vadim Viktorovich, what will happen to subunit 'Alpha'? It, as people will know, is now directly subordinate to the president himself.

[Bakatin] I think that it will remain subordinate to the president for the time being. But if this group, which is made up very capable officers, is again transferred to us, I will not refuse. These guys will clearly be no handicap.

[Mostovshchikov] I have been told that the atmosphere in the KGB now is, to put it mildly, uneasy... You know, a new broom...

[Bakatin] I want to say straightaway that there will never be any repression, persecution, or unjustified dismissal of people for their convictions here.

[Mostovshchikov] Vadim Viktorovich, when and how do you relax, if that is not a secret? It is said that you draw in your leisure time, but you are no doubt not in the mood for landscapes now, are you?

[Bakatin] Why? I took a proper vacation recently. I had 40 days of idleness. And then I was a bit unwell. To sum up, I managed to write a short book about when I was internal affairs minister and my leaving that post.

And then I hired a team of construction workers and began building a house with them to my own design. It's such a pleasure, you cannot imagine. I did a lot of sawing, carrying, and digging. Although much still has to be done to finish it off. But I did little drawing during this time—a couple of studies.

[Mostovshchikov] What sort of house are you building?

[Bakatin] What do you mean? A dacha. I have joined a dacha cooperative. I am now building my own...

Procuracy To Drop Case Against KGB's Kalugin

LD3008120191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1034 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Aug (TASS)—The USSR Procuracy has decided to drop the criminal case against Oleg Kalugin, the former senior official of the USSR KGB and a USSR people's deputy, "for rehabilitation reasons." A TASS correspondent was told today at the USSR Procuracy that the order to drop the case had been given by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin.

The criminal case against Oleg Kalugin was instigated by Nikolay Trubin's predecessor, Aleksandr Sukharev. Oleg Kalugin was accused of divulging state secrets.

Previously, Nikolay Trubin had refused to request the USSR Supreme Soviet to strip Oleg Kalugin of his deputy's immunity and to sanction his prosecution.

Kalugin Rehabilitated

LD0109162891 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has canceled all acts that stripped former KGB General Oleg Kalugin of Soviet awards and the rank of major-general in reserve.

To Advise on Revamping KGB

LD0109090491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] As has already been reported, the USSR Procuracy decided yesterday to drop criminal proceedings against the former senior USSR KGB officer, USSR people's deputy Oleg Kalugin. It emerged from a telephone conversation with him today that he has no intention of returning to the staff of the KGB. He said that this is a closed chapter, a closed door, but he has given his consent to Bakatin to be an advisor on reorganizing the KGB, on its structure and personnel aspects, which is extremely necessary at the present time.

KGB Alpha Group's Action During Putsch Viewed

91UF1113A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with Alpha Group Commander Mikhail Golovatov, and Deputy Commander Sergey Goncharov, by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondents Andrey Abrosimov and Andrey Zhdankin: "White House Defenders Were Ready To Fight to the End, but Alpha Never Commenced the Assault"]

[Text] **Three days of the defense of the Russian parliament. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA journalists, who were among the defenders of the building, can confirm: The greatest threat was the KGB's special group Alpha, about which controversial and frightening rumors were constantly circulating. Even today practically nothing is known about it, except for the fact that it was a combat force of formidable effectiveness, capable of carrying out practically any tasks. Had it been activated, the fate of the White House—and possibly of democracy itself in our country—would have been in doubt. This did not happen, though. Alpha did not take any action.**

Several days ago, a meeting of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondents with two leaders of the group took place in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Committee for State Security. We were sitting face to face with them, and could ask any questions. This is probably also one of the facets of the victory for democracy. According to Alpha Group Press Attache Nikolay Maklakov, who participated in the conversation, for the first time in the practice of world special services, active members were giving an open interview to journalists. However, we were categorically refused permission to take photos, even from the back.

Participants in the meeting: Commander of the Alpha Group Mikhail Golovatov, appointed several days ago by order of the USSR president, and Deputy Commander Sergey Goncharov.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Who is the Alpha Group subordinate to?

[Answer—individual respondents not identified] By order of the USSR president, the group is subordinate to the president personally or, in the event of his isolation or inability to carry out his functions, the RSFSR president. This order was issued several days ago. We were summoned to the new KGB chairman, Bakatin, who repeated to us twice in his office that from that moment on our subunit would follow only the orders issued personally by the USSR president. Until then, we were subordinate to the chairman of the USSR KGB, with immediate subordination to the Committee's [KGB] Seventh Directorate.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What orders did you receive from the State Committee on the State of Emergency during the putsch, starting 19 August?

[Answer] Our subunit had been put on heightened combat alert.

On the arrival of the subunit commander at about 1730 on 19 August, the commanding personnel of the group were gathered and we were given an order to start preparations to takeover the White House. The commanders, that is Goncharov and I, and the squad commanders were at that meeting where this order was issued. Everyone had this question—whose command is this?—since we knew very well that the group commander was only a messenger. We were told: The order comes from the government. It was said twice, clearly and precisely. We asked: Which government? Got the same reply: government order, the attack set for 0300 on 20 August.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What do preparatory steps consist of?

[Answer] Using military language, we need to know the position of the forces and the operational environment we are in and the opposing side is in.

We knew that the defenders of the government building were armed. Boris Nikolayevich has personal bodyguards, and these are people whom we also knew personally to a certain degree. This factor gave a certain tenor to the situation, too. We had information that there were about 500 armed people in the building. A KamAZ truck with firearms had been brought there; grenades, and probably grenade launchers, had been distributed. People were preparing to defend Russia and their president to the end. We knew where Boris Nikolayevich and the rest of the leadership were, and the situation floor by floor.

We had the following task: The entire special subunit, appropriately armed and equipped, was to storm the White House, enter the building, and take it over.

We knew that there were six tanks and 15 BTR armored personnel vehicles at the Supreme Soviet building. If the tanks had opened fire on us, a large number of Alpha members would have perished, but the rest would have accomplished the task anyway.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How was the group armed?

[Answer] We can only say that we had the equipment we would normally have had to carry out such tasks.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Did you have special clothing and additional weapons: grenade launchers, etc.?

[Answer] We had all of this. We can name the firearms. We are not hiding the fact that we had special weapons, but their use—sorry, this is a professional secret. There was no way the White House could have withstood a group with such weapons.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] It is said that you had a list of 12 people to be arrested.

[Answer] Our task was to take over the building. We were to carry out commands we received while on different floors, in different rooms. Each of us had individual communications gear and could act autonomously. We did not have a list, however—it had not been given to us. The main task was to storm the building, that is, the beginning of combat action.

This would have led not just to mere bloodshed; there would have been a sea of blood. We were receiving information that the defenders were ready to stand to the end, but they would not have been able to withstand an assault by professionals. To put it plainly, in a matter of about 20 minutes, 25 at most, our task would have been accomplished, although with numerous casualties.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] What other tasks were assigned to the Alpha group during the putsch?

[Answer] Except for storming and taking over the building—none. It seems to us that this was the main task of the entire putsch.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Did rank-and-file members and the commanders simultaneously come to the decision to disobey the orders? Were there disagreements?

[Answer] We cannot say that this decision came immediately. We were simply flabbergasted by this order. We were sitting just like now, elbow to elbow. I nudged him, he nudged me, and I said: "I am not going." He replied: "Me neither." It became clear that we were thinking the same way. The commander left the subunit; we gathered the squad commanders and told them the following, almost verbatim:

"Let us listen to each of you, the commanders sitting here. What decision has each of you made for himself?" They all rose and said that the order was illegal and anti-constitutional, and that they were not going to carry it out. After this, we ordered the squad commanders to gather their personnel in their rooms, inform each of them of the order and ask each their opinion.

In about 20 minutes the commanders gathered again and said: We are not going to carry out this order; we will not go there. "And we are not going to take you there," we said in turn.

Although deep inside we were sure of our people, we still felt a great relief. The situation was that two deputy commanders started a putsch in the Alpha. You know yourself what consequences such a position can lead to for military officers.

It should be emphasized that each of us was making a very difficult choice: We, the military people, were disobeying orders. This had never happened in the Alpha group since the subunit was formed in 1974. It was simply unimaginable.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Did you consider the consequences for yourselves if the putsch succeeded?

[Answer] Of course. If the putsch had succeeded, it would have been dismissal for us without pension, at best . The subunit would have been disbanded; for people who had worked in it for many years it was a very frightening scenario. We also considered the worst case.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Were you pressured to fulfill the order?

[Answer] There was quite serious pressure. While we were sitting in the office, we kept hearing calls coming from higher leadership. The subunit commander kept going somewhere all the time.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] For "indoctrination"?

[Answer] Yes. Coming back, he would pressure us to start combat actions.

Weapons and ammunition had already been issued to unit members. All that was left to do was get on our transport and move into position to start the attack.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Can you name your former commander?

[Answer] Major General Karpukhin, Viktor Fedorovich. Hero of the Soviet Union.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] If we understand you right, he was ready to carry out the order?

[Answer] Unequivocally.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] If the group had commenced the attack, what would the casualties have been?

[Answer] Well, you can imagine—there were about 10,000 people defending the building. At the beginning of the attack the crowd would have rolled back, but then, as usually happens in similar situations, it would have moved up to the building again. It is frightening even to think about the casualties.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] We can put the question differently: What did you spare the building defenders from?

[Answer] Our personnel saved the country from a civil war. As soon as the attack on the building was over, a civil war would have broken out in the country; after all, part of the troops supported the State Committee on the State of Emergency, while the other part supported Russia and democracy.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] When did it become clear to you that the putsch had failed?

[Answer] When the squad commanders said that their personnel would not participate in the attack, and we announced that we would not tell them to go there. After that, the men went to get some rest, while we stayed, them quite calmly, to wait for Karpukhin and his directives. We knew there would not be a war.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] After everything that happened, have any members of the group expressed a desire to quit the group?

[Answer] On the contrary. Our telephones are ringing off the hook. That people thank us—this is a wrong word to express what people are saying. We get calls from those who used to work in the group and had been dismissed because of age or health, regular Committee employees, and those members of leadership who did not support the putsch. A large, if not the greater part of the Committee was on our side, and did not support the putsch.

We want to emphasize that it is absolutely wrong to think that KGB employees are a silent, unthinking, blind force that could become a weapon in the hands of the leadership. Six years of perestroyka have made an enormous imprint on us, too.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How large is the group?

[Answer] There are questions we cannot answer. (Yesterday Lieutenant General Ye. Rasshchepov said that the group includes about 200 people—500 if regional squads are counted.)

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Age distribution?

[Answer] We, for instance, belong to the oldest generation. (Both look a little over 40.—Auth.) There are people who have worked there for three, five, or even 10 years. The average age is 30-32. We have had a new infusion recently—inexperienced youngsters who have not yet participated in a single combat operation. For them, this would have been the first and, to be honest, probably the last operation.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How much are Alpha members paid?

[Answer] In this respect, there is almost no difference between us and other parts of the Committee, the only thing is that recently, about a month ago, we started receiving a 20-percent bonus. The middle rank receive 420 rubles [R] plus this bonus, plus military rank pay, that is, a total of R550-600. Given our living conditions, this is, of course, miserly. Except for the commanders, nobody gets more than R700. Plus some preferences that apply to all military. For us, it is preferential calculation of the length of service for special service conditions.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Chief of the USSR KGB's Center for Public Relations, General Karbainov, confirmed that Alpha was in Vilnius during the January events. Please tell the details.

[Answer] Since it has already been said, it is unbecoming to deny or squirm now. It is better to know the truth the way it is.

Yes, we were in Vilnius at that time. We took the action on the television center on the night of 13 January. The group was sent there by aircraft—special flights. In Vilnius, we stayed in the Severnyy area. During the night, we received the order: Because of the blockade of the television center building, get in, take over the building, and ensure the safety of all broadcasting equipment and apparatuses until new personnel arrived.

Our armaments included what is usual in such situations: AK-74U machine guns with blanks (one cartridge)—the machine guns equipped with attachments for firing blanks, Makarov pistols with 16 live cartridges (two clips with eight cartridges each), a radio transmitter, a protective helmet, a bulletproof vest, a flashlight, and a knife.

We can state with full responsibility that NOT A SINGLE SHOT WAS FIRED FROM OUR SIDE; we repeat, not a single shot.

We are now being presented as a horrible scarecrow; the Alpha group, they say, can do everything and will stop at nothing. This is not true. The group record includes many good deeds: We have freed children and hostages on airplanes, and have taken out and disabled criminals armed with explosives from all kinds of places...

During the days of the putsch we heard that the White House defenders were being continuously intimidated: Just you wait, they were told, you are only alive until Alpha gets here.

We want to tell the people through you: This is not the case. Alpha has proven that its members are literate and thinking people, and, most importantly, that they, too, care about the fate of the country and Russia—just like all other citizens, be they the military, metal workers, or bakers. We are the same people as you are; each of us has the same problems as everybody else; and we understand very well what we are pushed into. That is why we did not carry out the criminal order.

Origins, Functions of Group

91UF1114A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 4

[Article by V. Filin "Why Kryuchkov, Having Said 'A', Never Said 'B': Some Details From the Life of the KGB's Special Alpha Subunit"]

[Text] The number of legends surrounding it was in direct proportion to the distance from their namesake star. If one is to believe the legends, the Alpha people have lived in a special world where people could do even things that are generally impossible.

In about 1985, in the middle of the Afghan war, I found myself in a training center for special forces in the exceedingly dusty and dirty border town of Kerki and saw them "as they are in real life."

A huge man, close to two meters tall, in "combez" [coveralls], a jacket, and an unusual looking helmet with an individual communications box attached to the back of it, was lazily—or so it looked—lying on his belly and showering the shooting range with a machine gun. Despite this, the targets kept dropping. The operator kept raising them with a command from the central panel, but the machine gun kept making them drop again. To the side of the tall fellow, several of his colleagues were practicing ruining the rest of targets, with the same success. Each one was using only his own, lovingly cared for, "barrel"—a sniper rifle, machine gun, or an automatic weapon with a grenade launcher mounted under the barrel. "Wow!" I uttered involuntarily.

By that time, the "banned" legend of how "they" had taken the presidential palace in Kabul in 1979 was being told in a multitude of variations. Well, they took it. As they were supposed to. It appeared that two had died. They had accomplished the "assigned task"—the holiest of holy for them, forever. They did not have names or surnames, either. For obvious reasons. They still do not.

A little later an operation near the small Afghan town of Andkhdoy took place; we parachuted down there together, except from different "craft." There was sand in the ears and eyes, in the mouth and in the head, and who knows where else. There was confusion, shooting day and night, successful and unsuccessful ambushes—in short, everything that could be happening in that war and that gave people there a certain sameness right away. Except for them. They stood out even there. The way a high-class specialist would stand out against the background of mere artisans. Although, perhaps, this is not the best comparison.

It is believed that Group "A" was created on Andropov's initiative, right after the GSG-9 group was created in the FRG. It was attached to the Seventh Directorate, one of the most secret in the KGB, which was engaged, as is known, in physical surveillance. At first, it was comprised of about thirty "profis" [professionals]. By its status, defined at that time, the group was subordinated only to the KGB chairman. Gradually, it grew numerically. In about three or four years, it already had about 50 people. After Andropov, the status of the group somehow changed, and it was no longer only the chairman of the Committee [KGB] that could "raise" it. The volume of work increased.

Of those times, the "old timers" remember most warmly Aleksey Dmitriyevich Beschastnov, then chief of the Seventh Directorate. At some time in his life, by the way, he had been head of the special department in the famous 18th Army. Beschastnov liked people in general, and especially the members of the group. In the opinion of many group members, none of the other bosses could hold a candle to him. It was then that a rigid system for ensuring the group's high combat effectiveness was formed. First, only top athletes could be accepted, after a trial period. Life in the Alpha group meant, and generally still means now, wearing oneself out.

It is a daily, hourly competition with oneself, with seconds, meters, kilograms, friends, and competitors. The service status of the Alpha member depends directly on his athletic and combat results; his life and that of his comrades depend on that, too.

Therefore, each of them should be able to run three kilometers, for instance (just as an example) in less than 10 minutes (all three); 1 kilometer—in less than three minutes. If one does not run or shoot well, a chain of "bothersome" stimulae or penalties is activated immediately.

Combat specialization is honed to the highest degree of automatic response, where the brain and the muscles become something akin to a precision-tuned combat machine. (This is not really so. There is also something they call "brotherhood in combat." This is when you have confidence in those who come behind you, and they feel the same about you).

It is quite possible that this is precisely the way the group was seen by some in the Committee leadership. Just give a command—and whatever is needed wherever it is needed takes place. It is not important how. It takes place regardless of everything, without leaving the opponents even a gram of chance for success.

Apparently, somewhere, at some time, the line that separated the perception of Alpha as an omnipotent special subunit from a collective of normal, regular people, was erased in the high-ranking brains. So, the people "above" stopped treating them like regular people. It was believed that their business was to accomplish tasks. There was more and more work "outside their line of specialization." They became hostages to their own professionalism. The group was being torn apart by assignments around the country. According to the men, the high brass only appeared at award ceremonies and interviews; for them, increasingly often the word "take!" started to appear in their commanders'

lexicon. Not in the direct sense, of course. But professionals are fragile people, especially if they are treated this way.

Still, the most important thing for each of them remained the same—"fulfilling the assigned task." This was akin to a call of the blood. So they fulfilled them, without sparing themselves; they exposed themselves to terrorists' bullets: in freeing the children in Sarapul, in the Tbilisi airport, in the preliminary detention facility in Saratov, during the well-known Operation Thunder, and during the takeover of the Sukhumi detention facility with hostages. Many such operations are still not public knowledge. But everywhere, the impossible was becoming possible because the Alpha group was there. After the operation in the Sukhumi detention facility, the entire world learned for the first time the name of one of the group leaders—Viktor Karpukhin, the 44 year old Hero of the Soviet Union, who almost immediately became a general. He was impressive. Open- faced, massive, simple, and powerful. For some reason, he kept his hero's star in his pocket. Idolized Andropov. He was a pleasant interlocutor, told a lot of "forbidden" things. Came from the border troops. He had been with the group a long time. Was considered a specialist on armored combat equipment. Therefore, he never had to pass any tests on physical fitness. In principle, for this reason alone he could not count on the appropriate attitude toward him. But even this was not the main point. Under him, by the will of the Committee leadership, the group had been "exposed" more than once to situations where its participation was, to put it mildly, unnecessary. In the "hot" spots in the Transcaucasus, for instance, or in Vilnius. Taking over the television tower in order to give the anonymous Committee for National Salvation an opportunity to "broadcast" was a questionable victory that the group won at the cost of Viktor Shatskikh's life; this may have been the last straw. It was then that the special subunit let the leadership know that the group consisted, first of all, of normal people, who did not just have knowledge, decorations, meritorious deeds, combat skills, and the ability and duty to carry out order. They also had conscience and honor. This was most important.

I know beyond doubt from what is usually called "unofficial" sources that when the casket with the body of Lieutenant Shatskikh arrived in Moscow from Vilnius, nobody met it. Only almost an hour later did a GAZ-86 show up at the airfield, and men loaded the terrible cargo into it. The directorate's party committee "wrote out" a 100 ruble assistance bonus to the relatives of the slain warrior. The rest of the money was collected by passing a hat around the group. None of the former or current Committee leadership showed up at the funeral, except for a bureaucrat from the personnel department. Karpukhin did not, as they say, raise the issue of how something like this could happen. Immediately afterwards several members of the group handed in their letters of resignation.

But the group remained. It continued its work, since the number of terrorists in the country was growing. But the shock of Vilnius would not go away. In interviews Karpukhin continued to colorfully describe the group's capabilities, while at the same time modestly avoiding the subject of what it costs the group members and how they really live. Generally, the same as everybody else. No apartments; a miserable salary; countless meaningless assignments wearing them out and interfering with a normal training regime—this coming on top of enormous risk-taking, incomparable to anything, and work that pushed one's limits.

Once, on an assignment to one of the "Southern" capitals, I accidentally learned that the Alpha group was working there. I looked them up and persuaded them to take me along. With great reluctance, they agreed to "socialize," on condition "not a word got out." By nightfall, they dressed me in a bulletproof vest and a "combez", stacked a huge Colt 11-43 behind my belt—just in case—and shoved me into the dark bowels of a "Rafik" [Riga automotive factory] van. Sit and wait, they said.

The men were quietly cursing: "What a job! This has been going on for several days; the surveillance here is lousy!" This meant that the bandits had escaped surveillance again, and everything would have to be started over again. By the morning, it was clear that nothing (that is, "work") would happen. We went back to the base to sleep. In some dark courtyard, we climbed through a window covered with a grating, closed the grating behind us and locked the doors; I found myself in a smallish darkened room that looked like a hospital room. "Here is your bed," the leader pointed to me. "And now let's have supper." Although it was a little early for a supper, 0300, I agreed, just in case. I did not regret it. I have not had such borshch in my life since then, anywhere. A tiny amount of "moonshine" happened to be around and was enough to accompany conversations for the rest of the night. As soon as I closed my eyes, I heard the sound of metal. Several people were already crowding a small area, pushing fists through the air, swaying weights, using spring-tension devices, and rubber braids. Then came the sound of boxing gloves punching the "bags," and the smell of coffee filled the air; through the last moments of sleep, to the music of water splashing in a basin, a thought flashed through my mind: "I could be one of them." But...

Later, on my return to the newspaper offices, I learned that they had taken those bandits after all, professionally, as usual. It also turned out that they went on such assignments virtually at their own expense. On their return the accounting department withheld so much for their "food expenses" that they had to pay the difference from their salaries.

And there was still a shortage of what is called humanity. Daily nerve-wracking routine was winding the group into a tight spring.

Now about the main point. I have intentionally avoided excessive details and a chronicler's attachment to facts. Although I have all of that. First, I do not want to "expose" any of them; second, I do not want to be either an accuser or a defender. Of anybody. This is the task for an investigation—or a court, after all.

I do not know why Karpukhin agreed to the proposal to storm Russia's "White House," which, judging by all the signs, originated with Kryuchkov. Karpukhin did not tell me that. It is a guess. I heard, and this is quite possible, that in the event of success he would have become a deputy chairman of the Committee, "with all the attributes."

The day before the putsch the group was "put" on a special regime of combat alert. At 1730 on the 19th, Karpukhin gathered the subunit commanders and announced that there was a "government order." To the request to clarify precisely whose order it was, he repeated that it was a government order, and that the attack on the "White House" was to take place at 0300 on the 20th.

In any case, he did receive the order, and ordered the group to start preparations for the attack. First they conducted recognizance and video recording, and identified all approaches, if only to convince themselves of the hopelessness of the operation. According to the plan presented to the group, the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachments] and paratroopers, armed with obstacle removal equipment, were to clear the debris later. The thousands of people around the building did not count. The location of Yeltsin and his government was known. How to break in was also known.

Most likely, the bodyguards, although numerous, would have been annihilated. As well as the entire Government of Russia: There was no way to accomplish an "internment." Only annihilation. What next? Nothing. There was no way back for anybody. Not for the Russian Government, not for the coupists, not for the surviving members of Alpha. I think that those who were counting on the group to take the "White House" knew all this very well. Nevertheless, they were insisting on it. And this is where the spring snapped.

Twenty minutes after receiving battle orders, the commanders gathered and announced to Karpukhin that the group was not going to attack the "White House." Karpukhin was caught by surprise at first; then he got up and went to the central headquarters.

And that was it. The putsch ended, having barely started. A little later Rasshchepin, chief of the Seventh Directorate, called and asked where the personnel were. He was told: Everybody is here, at the base. At 0130 everyone was told to go and rest.

There were no other calls. On the 21st, the new group commanders Mikhail Golovatin and Sergey Goncharov, by their own account, were summoned by Bakatin, who announced: From this moment on, you are subordinate only to the USSR president. Is this clear?

Karpukhin disappeared somewhere and did not reappear until yesterday. A new stage in the life of Alpha group has begun.

Disposition of KGB, CPSU Archives Viewed

91UF1116A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by E. Maksimova on comments by RSFSR archivists A.S. Prokopenko, V.A. Tyuneyev, V.I. Abramov: "Archives of the CPSU and the KGB Become the Property of the People"]

[Text] **On 24 August, B. Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], issued the ukases "Concerning the Archives of the USSR Committee for State Security" and "Concerning the Party Archives." They are being transferred to the jurisdiction of archival organizations of Russia. On the morning of the 26th, the deputy chairman of the archival affairs committee under the RSFSR Council of Ministers began to implement the ukases. Late in the evening, when the deputies assembled in their committee for an immediate resolution of the urgently critical questions that were arising, our correspondent, E. Maksimova, asked them to talk about first impressions and about plans associated with the invaluable information-historical wealth that henceforth will belong to the people.**

Anatoliy Stefanovich Prokopenko:

The culmination of the day was the moment on Pushkinskaya Street when, in the presence of a small group of passersby, the assistant manager in charge of the premises, used a screwdriver to take down the sign "Central Party Archive of the Institute of the Theory and History of Socialism of the CPSU Central Committee." There is no new name yet—one has not been devised. There is a proposal: State Archive of the New History of Russia. Or, Archive of Political Parties and Social Movements. In my opinion, the most accurate is Russian Center for Modern History Documents.

M. Gorshkov, the director of the institute, signed an order on the transfer of the archive and the establishment of a commission for the preparation, as it is said in our country, of the acceptance-transfer, and the collective enthusiastically obligated itself to carry this out in two weeks instead of the proposed two months. I set the employees at ease and explained that everyone who agrees to work on the basis of full glasnost and objectivity will remain in their jobs. These people have been through a lot. The situation in the archive was demoralizing. Secrecy and mystery were reduced to an absurdity. Employees of different departments did not have the right to communicate with each other professionally and exchange information.

Of course, the acceptance itself of such a colossal archival mass is a task. One must find out at the beginning at least the volumes of material, the number of catalogues, the forms of their use, the direction of the work, etc. How will we accept it? The catalogues will be brought to our researcher. We will spot check them with what is on the shelves. Well, for example, the Lenin inventory, the Trotsky and Comintern inventories, and the protocols of the congresses, plenums, and meetings of the Politburo. There is a group of unique documents to which generally no one had access.

...L. Kamenev began to form the archive. A total of 1.5 million files and 40 million registration cards of party members were assembled. Resounding discoveries are surely in store for archivists and historians. But it is difficult to guess where and in what sections. We also still do not know what else besides party documentation is stored in the TsPA [Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee]. Surprises associated with Lenin are very likely. It was in the Central Party Archive that the handwritten beginning of the Lenin "Testament" was found that differs from the canonical typewritten text.

In the course of a day, we were able to review even personal publications—Dzerzhinskiy's notebooks, Dimitrov's journals, and documents on the subject of "Stalin, Trotsky, and the civil war."

But as for certain other repositories... Yuriy Nikolayevich Zorya, the famous investigator of the Katyn tragedy, told me today that in haste, it seems, we completely forgot about the archive of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, which was subordinate to such a sinister figure as Boldin. According to a statement by Zorya, even the manager of the international department, V. Falin, did not have access to this archive...

Vladimir Alekseyevich Tyuneyev:

The idea was that the general department of the CPSU Central Committee was obligated to submit all of the documents as it accumulated them to its own departmental central party archive, as is done by all state institutions. However, the point is that far from all of them were transferred. The Central Party Archive was dabbling in science, and only those things that were, so to say , of scientific interest were submitted. But the everyday life of the party apparatus; that is, what was most valuable and the most secretive was accumulated in the current archive of the general department.

Therefore, the meeting on Staraya Square was not as hospitable as the one in Pushkinskaya Street. Indeed, there was almost no one to meet us. There was no one from the archive workers. We found the deputy supervisor of the general department. He did not question the ukase of the Russian president, and he seemed to be loyally inclined, but it was clear that he had no intention of working on the acceptance-transfer. He said that he did not have the authority. It was necessary to telephone the home of V. Ivashko. And he did and did not object, but he did not interfere. Then we went to the workers of the apparatus of the USSR president. All of them had one and the same reason: The archive of the general department also includes the presidential archive, and it is inseparable, and we have no right without the approval of Gorbachev. In a word, we will appeal to Mikhail Sergeyevich.

In this archive of the general department, which was assembled in 1918, the generally accepted system of document selection for permanent storage was not recognized and observed. The departments of the Central Committee retained what they wanted to for themselves. There was a real lack of archival control.

Thus, it was not enough to seal off the archive itself. Incidentally, at first we sealed it and posted a guard only at one door, the entry, but later it turned out that there were several doors.

We have to gather everything that is right in the offices of numerous departments. But what if there are many hundreds of these offices in 15 buildings? We had to procure the floor plans. You see this pile of sheets! But, honestly, we have no desire to rummage through desks. They themselves, the party apparatchiks, should turn everything in. On the other hand, that which concerns the 19 August event that did not end up in the archive, naturally, remained in safes, in cases, and on shelves, and, not having been recorded anywhere yet, could have been and can be destroyed without difficulty. This bothers us very much.

Valeriy Ivanovich Abramov:

Perhaps the most difficult fell to me—the KGB archives. But the first order on the committee was already prepared when we arrived. Now the note is composed in the name of M. Gorbachev under the signature of V. Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, and V. Ivanenko, chairman of the RSFSR KGB, and also the chairman of our archive committee, R. Pikhoy, with a proposal about the organization of work. A commission was established from KGB workers and from archivists to develop selection criteria and to separate those documents that have an historical significance from those that are urgent.

It will become necessary to divide not only the funds, but also the staffs and the buildings. We absolutely will consult with specialists, and afterwards we will assemble a general working conference of subcommittees that are established locally. It is impossible otherwise. We are dealing with a complicated, vital, and operating structure, where even the personnel lists (for understandable reasons) constitute a secret. The specific character is obvious, and it is impossible to rush things here in any case. The presence in any such archive of secret materials is an absolutely normal occurrence. It is only that this secrecy should be lawful and legal.

We still do not know anything about the composition of the documents and the inquiry-information service in

the KGB. But we are confident that we will be able to make a large layer of history available to researchers as a result. This is the association of the punitive organs with the party, with the entire administrative command system, with the history of the department itself, and the history of repression and dissidence.

I no longer have any doubt about the goodwill and the readiness of the central apparatus to cooperate. As for the oblast administrations, then the situation there, it seems to me, can develop in different ways. In the minds of many KGB workers, especially in the remote peripheral areas, the very thought of revealing their activity and public control over it is blasphemy. What is this—allowing civilian archivists access to what is most "sacred!" On the other hand, actually, there are spheres where access is forbidden from time to time.

The main principle should be the protection of the rights of the individual, the one whose security the KGB stands guard over and who commissions the guarding. A reasonable balance will be found, and in six months, we think, the work will be completed. Henceforth, we intend to view the KGB as a normal source of manning the state archive of Russia.

Such are the results of the first day of operation of the ukases. The archival affairs committee views their implementation resolutely and uncompromisingly. But taking the archives under our control is only the beginning. To own an archive means to place it in scientific and cultural circulation, and to make it part of the national memory. We hope that this is what will occur in the near future.

Barannikov Interviewed on Changes in MVD

PM0309102391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, by V. Rudnev; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Viktor Barannikov: A Large Proportion of Union MVD's Functions Will Shift to the Republics"]

[Text] The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] will be outside of politics, the country's new minister of internal affairs, Lieutenant General (Internal Service) Viktor Barannikov, said a week after he did his professional and civil duty of defending democracy in the country. IZVESTIYA was allotted 30 minutes in Viktor Barannikov's initial tight work schedule as the country's new internal affairs minister. But throughout that time the telephones kept quiet and no one interrupted us. Only once did a special messenger steal in like a wraith and disappear...

[Rudnev] Viktor Pavlovich, it is well known that people are not born ministers and do not even just become ministers. They are appointed. What were Mikhail Gorbachev's parting words to you, and did Boris Yeltsin give you his blessing?

[Barannikov] I was summoned urgently to the Kremlin 23 August to see Mikhail Gorbachev. All the "nine" were gathered there. They announced that I had been appointed USSR minister of internal affairs by common decision. I looked at Yeltsin. He nodded, indicating that he gave his go-ahead. Nazarbayev and the other leaders congratulated me. There were no instructions or orders from Gorbachev or from the republic leaders. That was how I became minister. And I agreed to carry out my duties.

[Rudnev] Everyone is worried about one thing today: the future of the Union. You have just held a meeting with the republic ministers of internal affairs. What did you agree on?

[Barannikov] Everyone needs the Union: both we who live in the country and the peoples of other states. There is no question about it for me. But what kind of Union?

Today many people are calling for everything to be destroyed, and then... Some USSR deputies are pressing for Union administrative organs, including the MVD, to be wound up. My ministerial colleagues and I tried to look at things from the opposite angle. Suppose there is no USSR MVD. How then are the local militia to be supplied with weapons, munitions, and special equipment? What about questions of criminal registration, analysis and forecasting, and coordination in the fight against crime? By and large, there is no work at local level without a central organ in the militia structure.

On the other hand, we acknowledged unanimously that republics can quite easily sort things out for themselves as far as questions of cadre policy, organizing the protection of public order and traffic, and implementing court sentences are concerned. There is no need for central tutelage here. There is, for instance, the problem of uniforms. That is still decided at the USSR MVD. Today the Russia militia is about to have one uniform made for itself, while a police commissar from the Baltic attended the meeting wearing another uniform—a very smart and comfortable uniform, incidentally. Is uniformity so necessary?

In short, we decided this: We intend to meet again in 10 days and define the concept for our new relations. These will be contractual relations with the republic ministers. The situation with regard to the USSR MVD will be based on that. We will take the national and economic features of every republic into consideration. But it is clear today that a large proportion of the current functions performed by the ministry's central apparatus will shift to the republics.

[Rudnev] So, the number of your subordinates will decrease?

[Barannikov] Perhaps. Today the cumbersome apparatus of the Union State Automobile Inspectorate and certain other main directorates is virtually standing idle. Not because only loafers work there. Life itself is tearing down these administrative structures. I am also prepared

to name other services. On the other hand, our crime-fighting subunits and operational and investigation services require considerable reinforcements in terms of both cadres and technology. Their work must be organized on a qualitatively new footing.

Nor is there any need for parallel structures within the KGB that also fight criminals—our internal enemy. Incidentally, I have just signed a decree suspending the operation of the USSR MVD structure which the previous minister set up. We are working on a new one with the help of skilled specialists and are waiting to receive suggestions from ministers in the republics. So, there are no signs of mass dismissals as yet. We are working.

[Rudnev] You have already acquired experience of "capital repairs" to the ministerial machine at the Russian MVD. This knowledge will obviously stand you in good stead in your new post...

[Barannikov] Everything has still not been completed at the Russian MVD. The very department that I now head stood in the way. And the Union MVD is not at all like a republic MVD. It has its own specific nature and its own functions. Things are all the more difficult now in the totally new political atmosphere. I will have to grasp new subtleties, as you say.

[Rudnev] How has the country's new minister of internal affairs begun?

[Barannikov] By appealing to personnel. I conveyed Mikhail Gorbachev's gratitude and thanks to the personnel of internal affairs organs and internal troopers who stayed with their people till the end and did not sully themselves with violence and other illegal actions. But I stressed: It would be an error to consider the problem of ensuring law and order and legality in the country wrapped up. There is daily, painstaking, professional work ahead to restore people's faith in law and justice and create confidence that there can be no return to totalitarianism, tyranny, and physical and moral terror. Today people trust us, we do not have the right to let them down.

[Rudnev] Have concrete decisions been adopted?

[Barannikov] I immediately disbanded the Vilnius and Riga OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachments]. Some of the men will serve in various militia subunits, while others, if they so desire, will go to Army combat units. Two months ago at Anatoliy Sobchak's request I implored the previous minister to wind up this disgrace to our militia.

[Rudnev] Isn't yesterday's Russian minister "nationalizing" the Union department in Russia's favor?

[Barannikov] When I worked at 6, Ogareva Street (the address of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD—V.R.) I did not sever my links with my colleagues from the republics. I am well aware of their problems, which were mine for quite a few days. The Russian militia has already concluded several contracts with other republic MVD's. We are all bound by professional solidarity. There is nothing for us to divide up. I have no intention of nationalizing or denationalizing anything. The militia must be outside politics. Our business is to fight crime.

[Rudnev] It was only 22 August that the USSR MVD Collegium opposed the State Committee for the State of Emergency by deeming its decisions to be anticonstitutional...

[Barannikov] It is not even a matter of the collegium, although this decision should have been adopted back on 19 August. It is a matter of people's position. For instance, 40 KGB officers came to us at the White House without any collegiums to serve Russia. And 10 tanks came flying Russian flags...

Boris Pugo took the blame. But he was, after all, surrounded by dozens of generals and supreme officers. Alas, few people overtly opposed the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Among those who did act resolutely were, for instance, the commanders who did not allow internal troops to be used to block communications and seize buildings. But there were after all also the doubters, the waverers, and those who hid behind official instructions... I don't want to persecute anyone, but I have no intention of working with unscrupulous men.

[Rudnev] Incidentally, will Nikolay Shilov remain chief of the Moscow and Moscow area militia?

[Barannikov] No. By Russian presidential decree the Moscow militia is transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR MVD and the Moscow Mayor's Office. For which the law makes provision.

[Rudnev] What about Boris Gromov?

[Barannikov] I don't understand the reasons for appointing a combat general, a prominent ground combat specialist to the militia. I have spoken to Gromov; he himself finds his post a burden and has been unhappy throughout these eight months. He has now submitted a request and been posted to the Defense Ministry.

[Rudnev] You were among the first to defend Russia's House of the Soviets...

[Barannikov] I did not want to talk about myself today. I must talk about the militia. We did our professional and civic duty in defending democracy in the country.

On Ministry Reforms

LD0209220191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1511 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Interview granted by USSR Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Barannikov to Mayak and Central Television on 2 September; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Viktor Pavlovich, which issues concern you as a minister today? We congratulate you on your new appointment. What kind of structure will the Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] have?

[Barannikov] Well, on the 30th we held a working meeting with all the internal affairs ministers of the republics. We held this meeting specifically to understand the ministers' opinions, taking into account the current political situation, today's sociopolitical relations, and the independence declarations of republics. The meeting was held to determine what kind of structure is needed today. I would like to convey to you our common opinion, that today the Internal Affairs Ministry should work for the benefit of the republics. Once the question is put like that, then the current structure, the one that exists now, is of course not suitable. We have suspended the operation of the old structure, the one recently set up by the previous minister for internal affairs. We have suspended the old structure and set up a working group, taking into account the republican ministers' opinions. We have given it 10 days; so within that time we should determine a structure. But let me repeat once again that this structure should work for the benefit of the republics.

[Correspondent] Do you think, Viktor Pavlovich, that simultaneous subordination to the Mayor's Office and the ministry played a dismal role during the putsch in Moscow, and if you do, then what will be done to change the situation?

[Barannikov] You know that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, has signed a decree to the effect that the Moscow city militia is now subordinated to the Russian Federation Internal Affairs Ministry and Mayor's Office; that is, a dual subordination as envisaged today according to the law, to Russian laws. The actions, as you were saying, of the militia between 19 and 21 August did play a role, of course. Why? Because the Russian militia, under the jurisdiction of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry ... an evaluation has been carried out by both the USSR Supreme Soviet session and by Russian deputies at the extraordinary [Congress of People's Deputies] session. The militia, the Russian militia and soldiers of the Interior Ministry forces acted mainly, let me say this directly, in the spirit of civic duty and responsibility. They acted in a professional manner, and together with Muscovites defended the White House. [passage omitted]

Barannikov on Combating Crime

LD0209213191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] During the defense of the Russian White House, militiamen and people with a criminal past found themselves standing shoulder-to-shoulder, with the latter repeating: We thought, chief, we would be after the same cause.

Today the militia and the criminals have dispersed to different sides of the barricades. And at the desk of the USSR minister of internal affairs is a man from the Russian leadership. Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov has come all the way from the local police station to the office of major general. He worked in difficult conditions in Azerbaijan. Ministry officials well remember how quite recently Pugo's face would twist into a grimace at the very mention of Barannikov's name. A news conference at the Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] today was canceled, but the minister agreed to give an interview specially for TSN [Television News Service] to share the latest news in the interval of the heated debates at the Congress.

[Begin recording] [Barannikov] In the first seven months of this year the crime rate increased by 20 percent, and in absolute terms this is 1.8 million crimes committed. As you can imagine these figures show that the situation is extremely complex. And the measures we are thinking of are first of all, of course, combating organized crime. All ministers with one voice have declared that a federal structure is not necessary. These services should be directly subordinated to the minister on the spot in the republic.

[Correspondent] A legitimate question arises: In that case, is the Union MVD necessary? Yes it is. The new minister today stressed that the Union MVD should work for the republics and aim at combating interregional and international crime.

Do you think, Viktor Pavlovich, that it was simultaneous subordination to the Mayor's Office and the ministry that played a sad role during the putsch in Moscow; and if you do, what will be done to change the situation?

[Barannikov] I think it has been done, you know; the decree of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, has been signed, and in accordance with that decree the Moscow city militia is now subordinated to the MVD of the Russian Federation and the Mayor's Office. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Some good news: Since the buildings of the gorkoms and raykoms are now empty and no longer need guarding, the MVD can at last engage in its direct task—combating crime.

Pankin Outlines Foreign Policy Tasks

LD0209093891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Boris Pankin, who was appointed USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs last week, stated today the he will pursue the "Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line" in his activity. Speaking with journalists in the lobby of the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies which opened today, Boris Pankin stressed that in the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "certain distortions will be corrected, but on the whole the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line will be

conducted, in a more accelerated and energetic form, of course, taking into account the consequences of the coup."

Boris Pankin stated that it is intended that the structure and functions of the Union Foreign Ministry are to be revised taking into consideration the expanding roles the republican foreign ministries. The number of USSR Foreign Ministry staff will be cut, and it is envisaged that a significant part of the powers are to be transferred to the republics. The new minister underlined that during his work as an ambassador in Prague he established good working relations with the foreign ministers of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, which will undoubtably help him in the future.

Boris Pankin said that after being appointed to the post of minister he has already managed to meet with the foreign ministers of Great Britain and Czechoslovakia. "I have received very warm congratulations with wishes of success from a large number of my colleagues and I hope to meet with them in a week during the Moscow conference on the human dimension", he said.

Boris Pankin expressed the hope that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which has opened today, will contribute to preserving the unity of the USSR. "The world is waiting for us to do this", he underlined. "Many dangers await everybody if the USSR disintergrates into separate states".

On Putsch Effects on Foreign Policy

LD0309202491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by correspondent T. Mitkova in Moscow; date not given; from the "Television News Service" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Mitkova]: Over the last eight months there have been three changes of leadership in this building. Boris Pankin, the current Union minister of foreign affairs, took this post some days after the putsch and fully realizes that currently people are much less excited by foreign political passions. But diplomats do not like long pauses.

The recent events appear to have hampered the implementation of some foreign political actions—or have they?

[Pankin] You know, they have just failed to hamper a major international event which will take place, after all, within the set time limits. It will open on 10 September. I am speaking about the CSCE human dimension conference in Moscow.

[Mitkova] Soviet television has for the first time been granted the honor of filming inside the minister of foreign affairs' office. Gromyko simply forbade that; Shevardnadze was ashamed of his scratched desk. Incidentally, the interior here is the same as it was 20-30 year ago, but cadre changes are coming. [video shows Pankin in his office] What will happen to diplomats who expressed support for the anticonstitutional junta?

[Pankin] Well, I think that if we really establish that there were such diplomats, then naturally these diplomats will no longer work at the Foreign Ministry.

[Mitkova] Is this matter being investigated now?

[Pankin] Yes. Let us say that if now four ambassadors have been called to Moscow...

[Mitkova, interrupting] Who are they?

[Pankin] ...for consultations, this does not at all mean that their fate has been sealed. Well, these are the ambassadors in England, Yugoslavia, Guinea-Bissau, and Ireland.

[Mitkova] It is known that Germany insists on extraditing Erich Honecker. What is your position on this issue?

[Pankin] Well, we will have to deal with this. Of course, this is not a simple question, it is not a simple question, taking into account both Honecker's age and other circumstances of a humanitarian nature.

[Mitkova] One of the first acts of our new chairman [Yegor Yakovlev] was to recall KGB regular officers from the Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]. Do you have the same problem?

[Pankin] Yes, we have the same problem and the same plans.

Views Ties With Europe

LD3008232291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2039 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 30 August—recorded]

[Text] On Wednesday afternoon, Boris Pankin, until recently Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, was appointed the new Soviet minister of foreign affairs. Today he granted one of his first interviews in his new post to our correspondent in Moscow:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent in Russian fading to Czech translation] Mr. Minister, tell me first whether it was a surprise for you to be called up to Moscow?

[Pankin in Russian fading to Czech translation] You could say that I was surprised, although immediately after the suppression of the coup, various possibilities were expressed, for reasons well known to you. I myself did not think about it. I even expressed myself in favor of Eduard Shevardnadze becoming the minister of foreign affairs. All the more so since even the legislature asked for it.

[Correspondent] Tell us, when Mikhail Gorbachev met you that night, did he tell you why he was appointing you as the minister?

[Pankin] Yes, he told me. I was pleased that he briefly recalled a number of facts from my life. He also mentioned that I was a man of principles, which impressed him, and that my life credo was one that he liked and which was probably the most appropriate for the present time. He also expressed hope that I would use the experience I have gained, even though I was not a career diplomat, during the nine years in the post of an ambassador, two and a half years of which I spent in Prague. All of that was useful in the time of the putsch.

[Correspondent] Did you also talk about the Soviet foreign doctrine toward eastern Europe and, in particular, toward Czechoslovakia in the time after the recent events?

[Pankin] Yes, we talked about it. The thing was that it was necessary to return to a doctrine which, despite not being abolished by anybody, was unfortunately being slowed down, that is, to return to principles for the implementation of which I and other ambassadors were sent to eastern Europe in May of last year. It was Mikhail Gorbachev's and Eduard Sheverdnadze's idea to build a new model of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and relations with eastern Europe on a completely new basis—on the basis of radical changes that occurred in eastern Europe and that are being implemented in our country. Since this process is being accelerated in our country there are even more reasons for it. I have been given all powers to act in this direction.

[Correspondent] When you were the ambassador to Czechoslovakia, you received a letter conveyed by our foreign minister from our commission for the analysis of the events of 1968-70. Now, when the Soviet archives are being opened, can Czechoslovakia expect your help in this matter?

[Pankin] I would correct you in two things. I received a letter not directly from Minister Dienstbier but from the commission in his presence. Secondly, the archives are not being opened. Strictly speaking, they are sealed. I, of course, know about this. It was mentioned in Czechoslovakia, and now we can or at least will be able to try to find out if this invitation letter existed at all. As an ambassador and sometime minister, I simply do not know about this to this day. However, as soon as it is possible we will solve the issue.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, are there going to be big cadre changes in your Ministry now?

[Pankin] Yes, there are certainly going to be changes, but they are not going to be changes for the sake of changes. It is necessary to assess the behavior of our people during the putsch in a very strict and demanding way, but at the same time not indiscriminately. On the other hand, the work itself, the tasks, demand certain changes. That is why there will be an improvement, and cadre changes will be necessary, too. It will not, though, be a purge, no sweeping changes.

I can tell you now about two changes: Yesterday, I announced at the session of the Collegium that I was going to appoint Vladimir Petrovskiy as the first deputy minister and asked him to be together with me in charge of the ministry's activities. And after the end of the session of the Collegium, Kvitsinskiy asked to be recalled. Of course, his request was granted.

I would like to use this occasion to again cordially greet the leadership of Czechoslovakia—President Havel, Prime Minister Calfa, and Minister Dienstbier, who is now my colleague.

I have to say that I was moved by the reaction of the Czechoslovak leadership and nation—I think I have the right to say so—to my and Lebedev's modest heroic action. I have already received a letter of congratulations from Jiri Dienstbier and I am aware of statements by President Havel and Prime Minister Calfa. This all is very moving for me and in this difficult time it gives me strength and cheers me in my work. Thank you. [end recording]

Addresses Foreign Ministry Collegium

LD3008192891 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The collegium of the Soviet Foreign Ministry on Thursday greeted new Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, who replaced Alexander Bessmertnykh fired by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for his tacitness during last week's abortive coup.

Pankin was presented to the collegium by Gorbachev head of staff Grigory Revenko.

Pankin in his address stressed the need to consistently continue the policy of new thinking, the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line, as well as renovate approaches and abandon dogmas.

He said he will take an active part in analysing the lessons of the recent events in the country.

Pankin appointed Vladimir Petrovsky first deputy foreign minister and relieved Yuri Kvitsinsky of his duties as first deputy foreign minister, and Valentin Nikiforov of his duties as deputy minister.

Revenko spoke about new tasks of the foreign ministry in light of radical political processes in the country, including a new character of relationships between Union republics and the centre.

Petrovskiy New First Deputy Foreign Minister

LD0109173891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1648 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—The USSR Foreign Ministry has announced the appointment of Vladimir Petrovskiy as USSR first deputy foreign minister. Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and Valentin Nikiforov have been removed from their posts as first deputy minister and deputy minister for cadres issues respectively.

"I see this appointment as a most responsible assignment," Vladimir Petrovskiy told a TASS correspondent over the telephone today. "This is a crucial time for the Foreign Ministry. The lessons of the coup must be interpreted and ways and means for the whole of the country's diplomatic service to work must be outlined."

Vladimir Petrovskiy expressed his firm conviction that in the current, decidedly changed conditions there should be closer work with the republics and, through joint efforts, a more profound analysis of all problems which arise.

It is important in our complex times not to waste the capital which has been earned by Soviet diplomacy and to give new momentum to positive trends. And to this end there must be continued work toward openness. This, indeed, will become the further development of the policy of new thinking at the source of which stood Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze and, undoubtedly, it will promote an increase in the prestige of our state in the eyes of the world community.

New Foreign Ministry Appointments Reported

LD0209184991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1753 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Personnel changes are continuing in the USSR Foreign Ministry. The TASS correspondent was informed that, following yesterday's announcement of the appointment of Vladimir Petrovskiy as first deputy foreign minister, today a new deputy minister, Yuriy Deryabin, has been appointed to head the European section of the Union foreign policy department. Up to now he has headed the department for security and cooperation in Europe of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Valeriy Kinyaykin has been appointed acting head of the main adminstration of personnel and educational establishments. Foreign Minster Boris Pankin held a conference with his deputies in the ministry today. Those taking part discussed a wide circle of issues relating to the ministry's activities, as well as topical problems of Soviet foreign policy. They devoted considerable attention to preparations for the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, which, it is expected here, will still open on 10 September; and to the 46th session of the UN General Assembly.

Four Ambassadors Summoned for 'Consultations'

OW0309215991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reliable sources in the MID, [Foreign Ministry] what is now going on in the Foreign Ministry has nothing to do with "purges" or roll-call investigation into senior diplomats' performance during the recent coup. The rumors about the large-scale recall of Soviet ambassadors from abroad are groundless, the sources say. Only four ambassadors have been summoned for consultations, and several other ranking diplomats may be invited to Moscow for the same purpose in the near future.

No one will be automatically dismissed, a MID official said. In the course of consultations each particular case will be given an "attentive and unbiased" study, and appropriate decisions will be taken. The Foreign Ministry believes it is impermissible to settle personal accounts or express personal sympathies during the procedure.

As DP's ["Diplomatic Panorama" program] reporter gathered from personal conversations with MID diplomats, the Soviet ambassador to Britain, Mr. Leonid Zamyatin, who is staying in Moscow in connection with Prime Minister John Major's visit to the USSR, has been rejecting the charges brought against him by some diplomats and mass media that he sympathized with the coup organizers.

Although no official confirmation has been obtained from the Foreign Ministry, the Soviet ambassdor to France, Mr. Yuriy Dubinin, may be summoned to Moscow for consultations. The USSR ambassador to Sweden, Mr. Nikolay Uspenskiy, is facing the same prospect. According to DP's sources, after a series of accusative articles in the Soviet press he sent the MID a message presenting his performance on August 19-21 in a different light. Unofficial sources say several workers of the Soviet Embassy in Sweden have spoken out in Mr. Uspenskiy's defense.

DP's correspondent was told that the charges brought against foreign-based top Soviet diplomats are studied within the MID by a specially appointed commission, as well as the Main Personnel Directorate and the Department for Contacts With the Soviet Embassies. These agencies are expected to avoid investigating "personal" cases but make a generalized analysis of the performance of Soviet foreign missions under critical circumstances during the three days of the putsch.

Ambassadors' Responses to Putsch Investigated

LD0209224691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2036 GMT 2 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Soviet and foreign press carry articles in which many members of our embassy staff abroad are accused of showing a liking for the putschists. Vitaliy Churkin, head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said today that a special commission is working within the ministry. It will give an objective appraisal on the behavior of embassies during those dramatic days in August.

[V.I.Churkin, to camera] Four ambassadors have been called to Moscow for consultations; maybe several more people, who are targets of various accusations—and allegations of their support for the putschists are being voiced—will be called, too. In every case, however sharp the articles are, objective information will be the basis for examining these issues. We think that only a serious analysis of this objective information regarding the actions taken by people in those critical days will make it possible to draw specific conclusions. It seems that, proceeding from the facts, one can say even now that, on the whole, the USSR Foreign Ministry and Soviet diplomatic service did a lot of work from 19 to 21 August to preserve the stability of the Soviet foreign policy course and the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze line that we intend to follow in the future, too, as Boris Dmitriyevich Pankin, new USSR foreign minister, has stated already more than once.

Bessmertnykh Explains Actions During Putsch

LD0209222991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2018 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh by Aleksandr Shaskhov on 2 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Shashkov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, there are a lot of articles at the moment putting various interpretations on the activities of the Foreign Ministry during the coup attempt. My first question is this: Would you tell us, please, from your point of view, how the ministry worked during that time and what was its attitude to the coup, the attitude of its officials—how the ministry worked.

[Bessmertnykh] From the first day, from Monday, the Foreign Ministry, at the level of the leadership of the ministry—I am saying this inasmuch as the conference to which I will be referring was attended by all the representatives of that leadership, deputy ministers and so on— we took the decision to resist that committee, not to carry out its decisions, and to do our utmost to guard our country's foreign policy from the possible effects both of the putsch and of the putschists and of the bodies of which they were members.

We had before us for consideration the question of resigning, that was the first question, and it was raised at once, on Monday. Then certain comrades began saying that if we dropped policy, as it were, who would pick it up, who would take it into their hands? That was correct: the KGB or the committee, and what would have happened to it? Subsequent events in general confirmed that it was right to guard our policy, to guard our diplomacy, so to speak.

Attempts to influence policy began to show themselves quite fast, papers were already beginning to come in, of a generally political tone, I should say, and carrying with them a huge explosive charge, which would have destroyed all that we had been striving to achieve in foreign policy in recent years and months. One of these papers was a reply to Bush from the [state] committee for the state of emergency [SCSE]. This was an open declaration of Cold War and I even ponder the question of why all this had been prepared. It had been prepared in the KGB, though the document bore the seal, as it were, of the committee. I thought that if the conspirators wanted to create internal tension in the country, they could evidently only operate in that environment, and evidently all their actions are explained by this: hence the tanks, and all the—all that whipping up, to create internal tension.

Internal tension must inevitably find its completion in external tension, and so an attempt was made to take us back to the period of the cold war, and declare war on the United States—cold, not hot. We did not go along with that, and thank God, as they say, we managed to cancel that operation, that excursion, simply as a kind of illustration of why it was necessary to occupy ourselves with policy and not abandon it. I can imagine what would have happened the next day: simply the disaster that it was necessary for us to avoid. And our ambassadors were—well, I personally sent three telegrams, as minister. They were all circular—what we mean by circular is that they were sent to all the ambassadors, all the representatives in international organizations—and I told them to act only within the framework of the policy of the constitutional bodies, which are the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Cabinet of Ministers.

[Shashkov] You listed those bodies?

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, I listed them. The whole tenor of my telegrams on this subject was precisely that they should not go beyond that framework. When we sensed that the KGB might specifically influence political actions by influencing the ambassadors at their posts, and that information was confirmed, I sent a second telegram, a circular one again, to all our representatives: If you receive any intructions, do not carry them out: instructions must come only from the Foreign Ministry. If you receive any, get in touch with us and check them out with us. Because that was a highly dangerous move. We were told that some ambassadors received instructions: Go, and present something, and explain something.

[Shashkov] Some of them carried them out—judging by what has been published.

[Bessmertnykh] It's possible that some even carried them out. Here we will evidently still have to carry out a

further full analysis. Though of course they were some strange—in my view—and even professionally inexplicable things. One ambassador—again, according to the press—announced that he considered the overthrow—I quote—of Gorbachev constitutional. I immediately summoned that ambassador to sort out, well, first, whether he had said it, and second, if so, what sort of devilry was this, what sort of political line, what sort of political trump card he had played.

[Shashkov] And?

[Bessmertnykh] Well, he now denies it, claiming to have been misinterpreted. We will get to the bottom of it. When it got into the press that portraits were being taken down and so on, of course there is a lot of symbolism in that—very serious symbolism, yes? I asked er, er...

[Shashkov] Actually it's our classical Soviet symbolism, and it is not at all surprising, unfortunately.

[Bessmertnykh] It comes as no surprise, but what is surprising is that it can go on in the circles of fairly well-qualified political workers.

[Shashkov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, you said you sent out circular telegrams and that instructions also reached the ambassadors through other channels. Evidently through KGB channels. You were an ambassador for a long time, you were foreign minister, tell me, how great is the influence of the KGB on the work of Soviet institutions abroad? By now, no doubt, one can say was.

[Bessmertnykh] Information is coming in and information has come in that the KGB made attempts through their resident agents to exert influence on our ambassadors. It was even said that certain dispatches came via the KGB telling the ambassador go, visit, say this, and so on.

But this was an extraordinary situation, this does not happen in normal conditions. That is, in general, the KGB resident cannot make the ambassador go anywhere. The ambassador is, and remains, the leading figure in the embassy, so to speak, let's say formally, officially. Although of course the role of the KGB representative is imposing not due to any written memorandum but simply through the nature of this department.

[Shashkov] Not de jure but de facto.

[Bessmertnykh] This is in essence de facto. After all the KGB is not only an intelligence service, it also counterespionage. Accordingly, and this is not an unimportant fact, for small collectives living abroad, they constantly feel this unsleeping eye of counterespionage, and it often happens that much depends on the quality, the human qualities of the people who fulfill this not unimportant, I consider, necessary function. Counterespionage must operate everywhere and defend state interests.

As for the question of the degree of influence, I think that the KGB's influence showed in the first place in the huge flow of their own information to the country's leadership. It is possible to take one side of any information, cut out everything that balances it, and put it on the president's table, and he sees a completely awful picture of the agents of another country who want to destroy, break up our country, and so on. This, I consider, is the main danger of their influence on the president. That is the first thing.

Second, of course the committee had in general, certainly beforehand, an unbelievable amount of internal and foreign information, and the majority of papers on the president's table did not come from this department. This is a sphere that influences decisionmaking, which is politics.

[Shashkov] There exists, or probably now rather there existed, a further source of influence on the behavior of Soviet institutions abroad—the CPSU apparatus. It is no secret that all our foreign officials are CPSU members. How did this force show itself during the putsch?

[Bessmertnykh] It did not touch us. You know this force placed its role in the 1960s and 1970s and possibly it caused great damage to our interests. Why? They supported leaders who only had to say, I am building black or brown or green socialism, and everything opened up: There were floods of aid, other things as well. Now when we talk about our debt balance, look at them, this is all on the whole money we are owed by pseudo-friends.

So it is here that the main influence was to be found. Add to this that the Central Committee's influence was, of course, also felt through, as it were, the supply of cadres for the diplomatic apparatus. Not a single decision, essentially not a single decision was made without the Central Committee and that is what it was called: a Central Committee decision concerning the appointment of the USSR's ambassador to a given country. You see? So, it was an old channel of influence, a very serious one. However, during the period of those three days of rebellion we are talking about I had not a single conversation with anyone; no one telephoned us, so, in this case, we experienced no pressure, as it were, nor did we even feel this organ breathing down our necks. Frankly, it is most probably the case, I think, that ambassadors reacted in accordance with what they felt. I want to tell you directly that ambassadors who behaved in a cowardly or an ingratiating way towards the committee...

[Shashkov, interrupting] ...or simply in a very obedient way...

[Bessmertnykh] Or simply in a very obedient way, all the same there were less of them than all our ambassadors, of whom we have over 120, plus representatives in international organizations and so on.

[Shashkov] What is your view, what would have happened, what situation would have taken shape in the world had the committee succeeded in staying in power a bit longer?

[Bessmertnykh] If the committee had succeeded in staying in power for, say, a month, or three weeks—it is immaterial from the point of view of an analysis—our country would have found itself in the gravest foreign political and foreign economic isolation. We would have been on the receiving end of inevitable sanctions. We would have been a country around which something not unlike a quarantine would have been imposed. The credit flows would have ground to a halt. Nothing would get in, no assistance whatever. Let me say that this would have had simply catastrophic consequences for our people.

[Shashkov] On the 18th you were present at a conference held by the SCSE. Did you try to explain this situation to them?

[Bessmertnykh] I mean, it was not a conference by the SCSE and I... I mean, I was taken there at night, as is known and it is all already known in the press and what I said there consisted of two parts. The first thing was a resolute refusal to participate in this committee—and it was, I mean, the final part of their work. The second part: I told everyone with utmost clarity that if a state of emergency is imposed, I, as the foreign minister, can guarantee you without fail that there will be sanctions and a blockade. Turning to Pavlov, I said: you will not receive a single grain, even from the bread grain already purchased. The credit lines, for which we have now been campaigning, not only the economic bodies, but also the Foreign Ministry—and I remember I went to Spain, Italy, and so on, trying to attain something for the country, to restore, to somehow get the supplies going to the country—all that will be slammed shut.

In particular I told them if anything happens in the Baltic republics, and God forbid, blood should be shed anywhere, then the whole world will simply explode. This I said to them precisely, clearly, and absolutely.

[Shashkov] What was their reaction?

[Bessmertnykh] Their reaction was wishy-washy. They said that the West does not help us anyway. It is you who constantly think that it is possible to survive with the help of Western support and they have already exported the grain anyway, as Pavlov said to me, it is all already in the granaries. I said I doubt this, somehow. So this is all fear and they did not take this in. This was reasoning which of course left a serious impression. In general this was all strange. That evening, however, they were in session for six or seven or eight hours, I don't know. They dragged me out only to propose membership, no one intended to consult or talk with me about anything. I do not know when they spoke with Bakatin, probably the same day, they needed to ensure the participation of people of a different political stripe. So I told them all this, but alas this did not seem to be a threat for them.

[Shashkov] Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, excuse a fairly unpleasant question. From the course of our conversation I have not yet seen the reasons for your resignation.

[Bessmertnykh] The reasons for my resignation lie inside the head of our president. When he returned I met him, I met him because I was the only Security Council member in Moscow. The following day he called me in, invited me to his office at 1200. I came to him, we had a one-on-one conversation in his office. He said, Aleksandr, what was going on here? What was the position? I briefly told him what you already know now, and he said fine, go to the Foreign Ministry now and send a further circular telegram to all ambassadors, the president is in his place, the policies continue, the direction of policies is the same, let people work calmly, professionally. So, this kind of abnormal activity began.

On the following day Mikhail Sergeyevich telephones me in my study and says: Listen, Aleksandr, I have been given additional information. I hear that, indeed, he is shuffling some papers there and that some people's voices can be heard. Well, you were passive during those three days. I say: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I do not have all that much time and I thought we would have a fundamental conversation later, as befits the president and a minister and I say: Mikhail Sergeyevich, of your comrades in arms I am possibly the only one to have undergone the endurance test in what were the strangest conditions of the time. But you will very soon find out that some things have reached me.

Well, I do not know what; I wrote a letter to the president and I was not told that assistants were intending to meet me and I did not see what he was told, nor do I know what was whispered in his ear, although those in the know say that all sorts of things came from the professional whisperers. Well, may their god go with them. I wrote a letter to the Supreme Soviet deputies and I said at the end: Esteemed deputies, I ask you to approve the president's decree concerning the foreign minister's removal, because it is his decree and I am bound to comply with it.

CPSU's Mishin Denies Party Funds Sent Abroad

LD0309084591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The spokesman for the CPSU Central Committee, whose activities have been suspended by the special presidential decree, have denied allegations that the party has transferred large hard currency funds abroad. He also denied the allegation that until recently the Soviet Communist Party had provided financial aid to communist parties and left-wing organizations in other countries.

The deputy executive manager of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, Viktor Mishin described as a sheer lie the allegations about the party's transfer of many billions in hard currency to the Iraqi leader, Saddam Husayn. Victor Mishin, the chief manager of the credits, said it would have been impossible to do that even if they wanted to. He said the CPSU archives,

including the data about its financial activities, would be handed over to a special commission and would be opened.

CPSU Central Committee Member Found Dead

LD0109163891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] A RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent has learned from well-informed sources that on 29 August the body of Zoya Borovikova, chairperson of the Kurganinsk rayon soviet and member of the CPSU Central Committee, was found in the River Laba. She disappeared back on 27 August. Although investigations are continuing, specialists believe that it was a case of suicide.

Central Committee Archives Given to RSFSR

PM0409081091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Moscow Edition p 1

[Report by V. Belikov: "To Staraya Square—to the Secrets Kept Behind Seven Seals"]

[Text] As was briefly announced in the previous issue of IZVESTIYA, at noon on 30 August the storage facilities housing current documents of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat were opened and handed over to representatives of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Committee for Archives.

Probably never before has the quietly alert Kuybyshev Street, which stretches alongside the complex of buildings of the central party apparatus, seen such a noisy crowd. It is no exaggeration to say that Moscow's entire body of journalists was represented here. With us at the metal barred gates, for some reason known as "entrance No. 6" and in reality a strictly controlled checkpoint with a sentry box and an internal communications exchange, was a large group of staffers of what is now the former Central Committee archive.

These men and women are not party functionaries, although they worked in the same building with them. They are specialists, highly qualified professionals, and they told the thronging journalists how, exactly a week ago, on seeing out of their windows a mob of a thousand or so people at the entrance ready to storm the main party offices, their first thought was to save everything, down to the very last paper.

Later all the premises were carefully closed and sealed, and for seven days the party archive workers left the empty building, with young men from the barricades outside Russia's White House keeping watch on each floor day and night. "We are the fighters of the third combined self-defense detachment," they said, introducing themselves.

I found myself walking next to USSR People's Deputy Yu. Chernichenko, who mentioned in passing the system that had recently prevailed in this building: "You know, on one occasion, in the reception room of an obscure deputy chief of a Central Committee department I found no less than six (!) Union ministers patiently waiting for an audience." A few more minutes' walk, and we were at a door of white corrugated metal—"room No. 2." A man sprang up as if from underground, and told the milling correspondents:

"You can't go any further, there's nothing for you to see there..."

"What about the archives?!"

"Impossible!" was the reply, delivered with customary imperiousness.

Fortunately R. Pikhoya, chairman of the Russian Archives Committee, eventually made his way through the crowd in the narrow corridor and quickly removed this last obstacle. The seals were broken, the lock was opened—we entered a large windowless room with air conditioning and the ultimate in fire prevention systems. Metal containers with little doors loomed in long rows, taller than a man. Just like the checkroom lockers at a large station, except for the detailed labels: "Politburo. Questions Dropped," "27th Congress. Memorandums to the Presidium..."

Apart from the archives located in this building, it seems there are similar repositories outside Moscow. They too must now be taken under the control of representatives of democratic power.

Legality of Liquidating Parties Viewed

914B0367A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, Aug 91 p 8

[Responses to readers' letters by A. Kuzmin, chief of the Administration for the Affairs of Public Associations of the USSR Ministry of Justice, and USSR Minister of Civil Aviation B. Panyukov]

[Text] *In what cases can a public association (including a political party) be liquidated?*

They say that the activities of the CPSU and the Liberal Democrats of Zhirinovskiy have been banned. Is this true?

[signed] A. Kuptsov, Tula.

Our correspondent R. Morozov asked A. Kuzmin, chief of the Administration for the Affairs of Public Associations of the USSR Ministry of Justice, to respond to this question.

Article 22 of the USSR Law on Public Associations provides that a public association is liquidated by a court decision in the event it commits actions indicated in Article 3, Part 2 of the above law:

"The creation and operation of public associations which set the goal or use the method of overthrowing or forcibly changing the constitutional system or forcibly

disrupting the integrity of the territory of the USSR, Union and autonomous republics, and autonomous entities, propagating war, violence, and cruelty, sowing social, including class, as well as racial, ethnic, and religious discord, and committing other acts punishable under criminal statutes are not allowed. It is forbidden to create public paramilitary associations and armed units."

In addition, Article 22, Part 2 of this law says that a court may liquidate a public association in the event of a repeat violation of the law within one year. If a public association (party) commits actions that fall outside the framework of its goals and tasks set forth in its statute or violate the law, the leading organ of this association may be warned in writing by the organ which registered its statute or by a procurator.

As of today, no legislative act exists on suspending the activities of the CPSU and the LDP (Liberal-Democratic Party of the Soviet Union; leader V. Zhirinovskiy—editorial note). There is the ukase of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president on temporarily suspending the activities of the Communist Party of Russia. Cases against the CPSU and the LDP should be instituted at the request of the USSR general procurator, the USSR Ministry of Justice, or other organs which are entitled to make such requests by legislation. The issue of liquidating these two parties may only be resolved by the USSR Supreme Court.

Why did the USSR minister of civil aviation provide the plane of the USSR president for the coupists?

O. Kuzin, Moscow

Vice President of Russia A. Rutskoy asked USSR Minister of Civil Aviation B. Panyukov the same question. The latter responded: "We are merchants. We carry those who pay."

Apparently, members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency were also merchants of a kind. The question is, who paid them.

Komsomol Secretary Assesses Organization's Future

LD3008220291 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The next, 22d congress of the Komsomol, the All-Union Lenin Young Communist League, (YCL), will apparently become the last congress in the 73-year-long history of the largest youth organisation in the USSR, with a membership of over 21 million. This prediction was made by Secretary of the YCL Central Committee Andrey Aleinikov in an interview to TASS. He said that the deadline for the congress should be fixed at a plenum of the YCL Central Committee which opens on September 4.

Unlike buildings that housed the leading bodies of the Soviet Communist Party, the building of the YCL Central Committee is not sealed these days. "Komsomol has no moral responsibility for what happened in the country on August 19-21", Aleinikov said. "In the afternoon of August 20, the YCL Central Committee informed the media that it views the events as unconstitutional". The Komsomol should no longer be linked with the CPSU, Aleinikov said. At the 21st congress of the YCL, April 1990, the Komsomol proclaimed its organisational and political independence and ceased to be a "reserve" and "assistant" of the CPSU.

The YCL Central Committee then assumed the course at the Komsomol's radical transformation. The chief function of the youth league is now a social function—protection of the youth in conditions of the USSR's transition to a market.

The Komsomol has allocated 100 million roubles for the creation of a social service for youth. Out of a unitarian organisation, the YCL has been transformed into a federation of independent republican youth leagues. Most of them are no longer communist either in name or in content, Aleinikov said.

In connection with the forthcoming plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee, the Secretariat of the YCL Central Committee has adopted "the address to members of the Young Communist League". The address suggests the Komsomol's present political role be regarded as exhausted.

"Respecting the declaration of state independence by a number of republics, we believe that separate parts of the present Komsomol should follow the laws of their states. Hence, the YCL no longer exists as a federal league".

The Secretariat suggests immediately beginning to build relations on the basis of agreements between youth leagues of sovereign leagues. If, in the case of the preservation of the Soviet Union, republican youth leagues decide that they need a centre, it will much rather play a coordinating role, Aleinikov said.

The Secretariat of the YCL Central Committee also requested members of the Central Committee and Komsomol members to express their attitude to the possibility of the formation of the following structures on the basis of the Komsomol: The youth wing of the democratic reform movement, the youth organisation of the bloc of the left forces, an independent political party of democratic youth, an organisation of social protection of youth—an organisation that is devoid of politics and Ideologies.

Aleinikov said it is difficult to predict the further steps of the "Communist Initiative" youth movement that was formed in the USSR late in 1990, and that reserved the right to be the Komsomol's successor if the YCL is disbanded. Aleinikov believes that if such a structure exists, it will have a very small membership and will not be very active politically.

Alksnis Blames Party Leadership for Coup Attempt

91UM0843A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with V. Alksnis, people's deputy of the USSR and cochairman of the "Soyuz" group of deputies, by correspondent V. Romanenko; place and date not given: "Links of a Single Chain"]

[Text] **An interview by our correspondent V. Romanenko with V. Alksnis, people's deputy of the USSR and cochairman of the "Soyuz" group of deputies, which in the course of the past year has consistently advocated the imposition of a state of emergency in the country.**

[Romanenko] You will not today, I hope, deny that the national salvation committees that were formed in the Baltic republics were a precursor of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and a dress rehearsal for the coup d'etat?

[Alksnis] First, I would like to question the very words "conspiracy" and "coup." A conspiracy is when, for example, Colonel Alksnis appears on the television screen in military uniform and appeals to the people. But when the entire leadership of the country: political, economic, military, the president excepted, takes power, these could be called anticonstitutional actions, but by no means a coup, by a junta even less.

As far as your question is concerned, these are, of course, links of a single chain. Extremely incompetent, unlawful attempts to somehow halt the disintegration of the state.

[Romanenko] What do you think, was A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, really the chief ideologist of the putsch?

[Alksnis] I would treat such information very cautiously. There is no proof. I know Anatoliy Ivanovich as a highly skilled lawyer and very intelligent and cautious individual. The most he could be accused of is ideological sympathy with the State Committee people.

[Romanenko] Does it not seem to you that the activity of the "Soyuz" group of deputies contributed to the coup?

[Alksnis] Yes, we constantly propagandized the ideas of a state of emergency, and I personally do not renounce my position. But I would like to emphasize yet again—only constitutionally and given public consent, that is, when a majority of the population is ready for these measures.

[Romanenko] Can M. Gorbachev once again be an effective leader of the country?

[Alksnis] He is played out.

[Romanenko] Who, in your opinion, has real power now?

[Alksnis] B. Yeltsin. An interesting process is under way today—a move on the part of Yeltsin and the Russian power structures to the Union level. In the atmosphere of chaos and lawlessness the Union structures, compromised by involvement in these events, will fall apart. This will intensify the chaos. B. Yeltsin will be faced with the same problems that confronted M. Gorbachev.

What we once proposed doing in respect of rebellious republics R. Khasbulatov is today demonstrating in respect of the autonomies, that is, there is present in the policy of the Russian leadership that same double standard: when outside of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, "not allowed," but at home, "certainly."

[Romanenko] Your forecast of the development of events in the country?

[Alksnis] A pessimistic one. Our country is now becoming a smoldering volcano. A struggle for power between different political forces, regardless of Moscow, is already beginning in the republics. I, for example, very much fear the Lebanonization of Latvia. From the reports which I have from the republic, many people see recourse to arms as the sole way out, that is, what is today happening in Yugoslavia awaits us. And B. Yeltsin will here sooner or later play the "Russian card" in order to put individual republics in their place.

[Romanenko] Do you expect serious decisions from the present USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Alksnis] No. It, and the congress also, unfortunately, is incapable.

[Romanenko] It should dissolve itself?

[Alksnis] Yes. But the trouble is that today this is the sole legitimate authority which could cater for the transition to new power structures. And for this reason, however regrettable, it should be preserved.

[Romanenko] Why did the putsch fail?

[Alksnis] First, because in our country a coup is simply impossible. With us the country is too big, and there is an enormous army. Were all the generals assembled, the Palace of Congresses would not, I believe, be big enough. Second, we have no Marshal Zhukov, we have Marshal Yazov.

[Romanenko] Your attitude toward the suspension of the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the nationalization of party property?

[Alksnis] Frankly, this is an attempt, taking advantage of the moment, to make short shrift of the political opposition. On the other hand, in the form in which the party existed, it had already outlived its time. The party leadership exclusively is to blame for what has happened, not the communist rank and file.

DOSAAF Activities Supsended, Assets Seized

LD0109132991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] As time passes, new details of the days when the junta was at the helm are emerging. It has turned out that the legendary Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] decided to keep a low profile during those days. As a result, its activities have been suspended, its archives and all its buildings have been sealed, and all its bank accounts have been frozen.

Warrant of Arrest Issued to Lukyanov

LD0209211591 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—A warrant of arrest was presented on Monday to former Soviet parliament head Anatoliy Lukyanov, The Russian television Vesti night news show has reported.

Lawyers To Demand Release

LD0409090791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The lawyers of Anatoliy Lukyanov, who has been removed from the post of chairman of the USSR Parliament on suspicion of having taken part in the abortive state coup, said after meeting with him that they will demand his release from arrest.

In a press interview one of them, (Henry Podvar) said that his guilt is very doubtful. He stressed that Lukyanov's statement, published on the day of the putsch, 19th August, contained no call for a coup. The lawyers said that when they told Lukyanov that they considered the coup attempt to be an adventure and a crime and they cannot defend the coup itself, their client agreed with such an assessment.

Six 'Main' Coup Plotters Officially Charged

LD0209141491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Today charges according to Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (betrayal of the motherland) were officially levied against the six main organizers of the recent attempted state coup.

As Yuriy Yudin, the head of the Russian procuracy's press service, reported to a TASS correspondent today, at the present time official charges have been made by the investigation group under the supervision of Deputy Procurator-General Yevgeniy Lisov against former USSR Premier Valentin Pavlov; former USSR Minister of Defense, Dmitriy Yazov; former USSR KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov; Former Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev; former deputy chairman of the USSR President's Defense Council Oleg Baklanov; and chairman of the USSR Association of State Enterprises and Industrial Sites, Construction, Transport, and Communications, Aleksandr Tizyakov. According to Yuriy Yudin's information, at the present time, charges are being levied against Vasiliy Starodubtsev, who was the chairman of the USSR Peasants Union, under the same article.

Yet another leader of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency, Boris Pugo, the former USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, committed suicide during his arrest.

Article 64 of the criminal code envisages a punishment in the form of deprivation of freedom from 10 to 15 years and even such exceptional measures as execution by shooting.

Vorontsov Alleges 27 March Coup Attempt

LD0109191291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Report by N. Vorontsov, former USSR environmental protection minister; filmed on the spectators viewing gallery at Sheremetyevo-2 Airport; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] There was another attempt to carry out a putsch. That was on 27 March, the day before the opening of the Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] People's Deputies. Everything was made ready for the imposition of a state of emergency. Pavlov held a meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers, which had just been established. Only 20 ministers were appointed at that time. The meeting was, unusually, attended by Yazov, Pugo, and Kryuchkov. Normally those sort of people do not attend meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers. At that meeting, Pavlov said for the first time—for the first and last time—that he wanted to take our advice. What are we going to do, he asked. The miners are on strike. Should we introduce a state of emergency or not? Pugo said a lot that was meant to be intimidating. Kryuchkov said left-wing terrorists, extremists, and so on wanted to provoke disturbances. Yazov also spoke. That was the first attempt at a putsch.

The next attempt will be made at the Congress. That will be an attempt to stage a constitutional coup. An attempt will be made to push through a vote of no confidence in the president and to remove him.

Gromov Says Army Opinions Needed on Reforms

OW0309192291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] General Boris Gromov, the former First Deputy Minister of the Interior, said in an interview with an "INTERFAX" correspondent that he was "in no way involved" in the attempted coup d'etat.

He explained that he was on holiday and arrived in Moscow late on the evening of 19th August and only then found out what was going on. Gromov said that his reactions were "obviously negative. But I did not hand in my resignation because I thought I should do all in my power to prevent bloodshed, including even disobeying Pugo's direct orders".

In answer to one of the questions, he expressed support for new Defence Minister Shaposhnikov's plan to legally reinforce the impossibility of using the army against the peaceful civilian population. As far as Shaposhnikov's proposed reforms of the army are concerned, Gen. Gromov said that the opinions of the army itself should first be sought.

Shevardnadze, Others Reject Security Council Posts

LD3008132391 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, President Gorbachev's one-time senior adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev and Moscow's present Mayor Gavriil Popov have declined the proposal to become members of the USSR Security Council, Popov told a news conference at the Moscow City Council headquarters here today.

He didn't disclose the reasons of the refusal.

On Thursday, President Mikhail Gorbachev told the special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the new principle of forming the USSR National Security Council. He said the council would include leaders of nine republics which participated in the Novo-Ogarevo process. In addition, the president named some other candidates for the council, including Gavriil Popov, Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Security Council Post

PM0109134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze by M. Yusin 29 August at the Foreign Policy Association: "Eduard Shevardnadze: I Did Not Ask Gorbachev for Any Appointments"]

[Text] [Yusin] This interview occurred an hour after President Gorbachev, proposing candidacies for the Security Council at the parliamentary session on the evening of 29 August, mentioned Shevardnadze's name, and subsequently, reading out the list again, stated that the former foreign minister did not feature on it. Shevardnadze returned to the Foreign Policy Association directly from the session where he had hoped to have a thourough talk with the president, but had managed to exchange only a few words with him. And so, a very topical first question—concerning the Security Council and Eduard Shevardnadze's nonmembership of it:

[Shevardnadze] I did not ask Gorbachev for any appointments. He called me Wednesday afternoon [28 August] and said that he was forming the Security Council and asked me to be part of it. I replied that this was a very serious question, that I would have to have a more accurate idea about this organ and the functions and powers of its members. We would have to meet for this purpose. Gorbachev agreed.

At 1530 on 29 August the president called again and asked me to come to the Supreme Soviet session to have a talk before the session opened. However, when I arrived in the Kremlin, the deputies were already taking their seats in the hall and Gorbachev had to go there. No detailed conversation took place. We only managed to exchange a few words.

I gave no agreement to become part of the Security Council. I do not understand how my name got on the list. What secret forces are at work? What sort of attitude toward people is this?

[Yusin] After Bessmertnykh's dismissal, according to general opinion, you were the most likely candidate for the post of foreign minister. Especially since the ministry collective was unanimous on this score. The impression prevailed that after the firm "no" of the first few days, you yourself were no longer ruling out a return to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When the agencies reported your telephone conversation with Gorbachev, there were practically no doubts that he had offered you the ministerial post. And then suddenly, on the evening of the same day, came the unexpected announcement of Pankin's appointment....

[Shevardnadze] To begin with, I gave no thought to returning to the Foreign Ministry. I am entirely happy with what I am currently doing—with my work in the Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement. Doubts arose after a meeting with a delegation of Foreign Ministry staffers. They brought 8,000 signatures—ministry staffers and members of their families were asking me to return. And I hesitated. I know this collective very well and I am fond of them. They are in a very difficult situation at the moment. The Foreign Ministry represents a vast intellectual potential. It is necessary to preserve it... But I gave no agreement; I promised to think about it. In the evening Pankin's appointment was announced.

[Yusin] What is your view of the new minister?

[Shevardnadze] I have known Boris Dmitriyevich for a long time. He is an able man and a talented journalist. He was a good editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I met him on several occasions also in recent years when I was working at the Foreign Ministry. He

headed the embassy in Stockholm, and subsequently in Prague. I had no complaints about him as an ambassador.

But, of course, difficult trials are in store for Pankin. If the situation in the country stabilizes, I believe that he will able to cope with his duties. And in an unstable situation it will be incredibly difficult for anyone in his place. I wish him success in his new post.

[Yusin] On the first day of the putsch you did not rule out that Gorbachev himself might be involved in the plot....

[Shevardnadze] By now many things have become clear. I am convinced that the president is beyond suspicion. However, this does not free him of responsibility for what has happened. All his nearest collaborators have proved to be traitors. How could this happen?

Gorbachev was warned about the onslaught of reaction which was in preparation. But he turned a deaf ear. The president learned nothing either from the bloodshed in Vilnius in January, or the siege and encirclement of the Kremlin by troops in March, during the Russian deputies' congress. And the speeches of the three ministers—Yazov, Pugo, and Kryuchkov—at the closed session of the Supreme Soviet? That was a rehearsal of the putsch! Even at that time they demanded the introduction of a state of emergency. And then, how can there be any question of a closed session if Nevzorov got to know about everything? I demand that all these statements be published. I would like these documents to be published in IZVESTIYA.

The junta achieved one of its aims—it thwarted the signing of the Union treaty. I would like to believe that republic leaders possess enough wisdom and farsightedness to forestall a catastrophe. If the destructive processes inside the Union get out of control, this may have tragic consequences. The transition to the new status must be smooth, painless, and it must not be accompanied by confrontation.

I believe that the Soviet Union must be preserved in one form or another. Do not forget that it is a nuclear power, and moreover a permanent member of the Security Council. I do not make a tragedy of the fact that certain republics will not sign the Union treaty—relations with them can be built on a bilateral basis, but the ties must nonetheless be preserved.

[Yusin] What is your attitude toward the latest steps of the Russian leader?

[Shevardnadze] On the whole I support them, especially as regards departyization. This should have been done at least a year earlier, and by the president of the Union rather than Russia's president. If such a decree had been drawn up a year ago, the junta would not have been able to organize the putsch. After all, all the main ideologues of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] came from the top party structures and held key posts in the CPSU.

[Yusin] At one time there was a rumor that the Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR] was being created "as a backup for Gorbachev" so that he could switch to it after he had parted with the CPSU. Would you accept him now?

[Shevardnadze] I believe that it is obvious to everyone now that the talk about Gorbachev being all but the initiator of the MDR was empty talk. Do you remember how on his return from Foros, at the first news conference, he still defended the CPSU. I thought at the time that the president had not been isolated for three days but a whole year. Now he is left without a party and, if he wants to, he can join our movement. It is open to anyone....

[Yusin] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, 19 August, when you heard the putchists' address to the people, were you able to guess that it would only last three days? Or did you prepare for the worst?

[Shevardnadze] The putsch had been brewing. Throughout the past year I felt depressed, I felt that something terrible was approaching. We came to the conclusion at the MDR's Political Council 17 August that a right-wing coup was a real threat. I said at the time: Yakovlev's expulsion from the party is not a coincidence, it is a signal. After all, he provided no immediate pretext for an expulsion during those days.... All the 23 members of the Political Council agreed with this assessment.

And on the morning of 19 August when I heard the first appeals of the putschists on the radio, I felt relief. It was literally as if I had cast off a heavy burden. Then I knew exactly what I had to do.

I came to the conclusion that it was not all that terrible after all. The initiators of that plot were simply too primitive. You got the impression that they had spent the past five years sitting in a cave somewhere without noticing, without understanding that the people had completely changed. The putschists' main mistake was their complete isolation from reality. After all, they were expecting demonstrations in their support to take place throughout the country. But the people supported the democrats.

When I saw the sea of people, the ocean of people in front of the White House at the 20 August rally, I had no doubt that democracy would triumph. And it did.

Popov Explains Refusal of Gorbachev Offer

LD0409101591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Report by TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 4th Sep [TASS] "One of the main reasons for refusing to join the USSR Security Council was disagreement with the mechanism by which it was created", Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, has stated.

Eduard Shevardnadze, former Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Yakovlev, senior adviser to the USSR President and Gavriil Popov turned down an invitation from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to join the new Security Council last week at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"They are trying to set up the new USSR Security Council within the framework of the country's old constitution which is totally outmoded, Gavriil Popov said in response to a question from TASS correspondents. "What is more it should be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. We refused to join the Security Council because in its present form the Supreme Soviet has no right to resolve these problems. It must be answerable to the people for its actions."

Silayev To Decline Soviet Premiership

LD0109174591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, who also currently heads the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, said on Saturday that President Mikhail Gorbachev is ready to offer him the post of Soviet prime minister. I will probably disappoint Mikhail Gorbachev, Ivan Silayev said, but I will not abandon Russia. Ivan Silayev stressed that he gave his consent to head the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy only for a period of 2 or 3 weeks, after which he will return to his direct duties as head of the RSFSR Government.

The Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy will not be reshaped to become the Union government. This was reported by Yuriy Luzhkov, deputy mayor of Moscow and a member of the committee, in an exclusive interview to an INTERFAX correspondent. This is a temporary body, he added. All of us who are members of the committee, which was approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, have agreed that we will not aspire to take part in the future government, noted Yuriy Luzhkov. In his opinion, the structure of the future government should not resemble the Cabinet of Ministers.

Democratic Reform Movement Council Meets

LD0109202891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" Newscast]

[Text] A session of the Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms was held in Moscow today. Well-known political and public figures took part in it: Aleksandr Yakovlev, Gavriil Popov, Anatoliy Sobchak, Arkadiy Volskiy, Eduard Shevardnadze, Pavel Bunich, and others. The session discussed what steps need to be taken now by the democratic movement. [Video shows meeting, with brief shot of table with delegates; Sobchak shown seated with Popov, Laptev, Shevardnadze, and Yakovlev to his left in that order; Volskiy and Eduard Sagalayev are also present]

[Begin recording] [Sobchak, already speaking] ...to create what I would call a common political space related to the corroboration of rights and freedoms for every person, regardless of nationality, creed, place of abode, political views, and party membership.

[Popov] We must, I believe, make a special statement from the Demcoratic Movement on the protection of right-wing positions in our society. Because unless we protect these positions now, and if we allow an atmosphere to be created in the state under which, formally or in practice, repressions begin against these positions, then we will thus be engendering [words indistinct] of the putsch.

[Shevardnadze] I think we should speak more boldly of a common political, rather, a common democratic space, a democratic space. The democratic forces of all the republics, all regions have an interest in this. And it should not be forgotten that the Soviet Union is a permanent member of the Security Council and consequently all the republics have a definite responsibility in this respect for stability in the country, in Europe, and in the world.

[Yakovlev] For me personally, the forthcoming Congress causes particular apprehensions as it may, also, turn out to be, to a certain extent, putschist. And I only hope that the democratic forces are not once again deceived or pushed aside, to a certain degree, as has happened in previous years.

[Komarova] The statement by the movement's Political Council stresses that the Congress in its present composition should not adopt strategic decisions determining the life of the people of our country for the long-term. Its task is to lay the legal foundation for the functioning of the structures of state power in the transitional period, during which a new system of relations should take shape between the sovereign states on the territory of the USSR. [end recording]

Participation in UN General Assembly 'Uncertain'

OW0209172791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 2 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There is no full clarity about the Soviet Union's participation in the 46th session of the UN General Assembly which is to open in New York at the end of

September. The final decision is to be taken by Mikhail Gorbachev. So far, it is not clear whether or not the Soviet Union will participate, what the level of representation will be and who will be delegated.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry informed the DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that before the events of August 19 to 21, all of the Union republics had been invited, as previously, to join the Soviet delegation. But this time, the foreign ministers of two republics, and not one, as before, could be represented in the Soviet delegation.

By the time the DP correspondent was getting in touch with the Soviet Foreign Ministry, recommendations specifying the level and membership of the Soviet delegation had been drafted. These recommendations were expected to be considered today by the new Soviet Foreign Minister, Boris Pankin, and subsequently by Mikhail Gorbachev's office. In case of approval by the President, the recommendations could be transformed into a presidential decree.

Given such a delicate situation, DP has only obtained unconfirmed information revealing that by tradition the delegation will be led by the Soviet Foreign Minister. The Russian Federation, in case it gives its consent, may become one of the two republics, represented in the delegation.

As to the Ukraine and Belorussia, being UN member-states since the foundation of this organization, they are represented in all of the UN bodies on their own. The declarations of independence, adopted by the Ukraine and Belorussia, do not change anything in this respect. The question arises, however: will these republics continue to coordinate their efforts within the UN with the Soviet delegation? And will the UN-related expenses of the three delegations be covered from one source? The Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of International Organizations could not give clear answers to these questions because of ambiguity of the situation.

UN Membership Reportedly Supported for Republics

LD0409020791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] [no dateline as received]—As a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR permanent representation to the United Nations, the Soviet Union supports UN membership for all Union republics, including Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Problems of Dividing USSR Debt Viewed

PM0409144591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by I. Demchenko: "Dividing Up the USSR's Foreign Debt Among 15 Sovereign Republics Will Not Be Easy"]

[Text] It will not be easy, according to Ivan Ivanov, director of the Academy of the National Economy's consultancy center, to divide up the USSR's foreign debt among 15 sovereign republics. Working until recently as deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, he has taken part in the interrepublic talks on this question.

First, what kind of sum is involved? The total USSR foreign debt at the end of 1991 is now estimated at roughly $70.2 billion or 39 billion foreign currency rubles. This consists of loans which have either already been taken out by the Union government itself or are under its guarantee. For comparison purposes: The anticipated currency earnings which the whole country could make this current year will amount to around 22 billion foreign currency rubles. And more than half of that sum will go, not on clearing our foreign debt, but merely paying the interest on it.

It is clear that at the same time as they acquire independence the republics will have to assume their share of the common obligations of the Union, whose legal successors they become. And here the dividing up of the debt could prove to be one of the most complex and contentious issues connected with the settlement of property relations.

Our foreign debt, I. Ivanov said, is enshrined in more than 360 individual agreements. The biggest creditors are the FRG, Italy, and Japan. In general we have a large debt to virtually all the G-7 countries and South Korea. Simply dividing up these obligations among 15 sovereign states is virtually impossible, since they involve different currencies, repayment schedules, interest rates, and so forth.

As a result of prolonged talks the interrepublic group of experts managed to reach agreement on a synthetic coefficient which embraces four indicators: each republic's proportion of the export and import of goods, national income produced, and the country's population. Such a complex method of computation had to be introduced because no individual indicator suited everyone. If, say, the debt obligations were divided according to the number of the population, the basic payment burden would fall on the republics of Central Asia—which, incidentally, are far from spoiled for infusions of currency. If you consider only a republic's proportion of national income, the basic debt burden would be borne by Russia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics.

Unfortunately, while reaching agreement on working out a synthetic coefficient, the representatives of the republic governments did not manage to work out a specific method for its computation. The talks have so dragged on that Latvia, for example, without waiting for a decision, has already calculated its proportion itself and has stated that it assumes an obligation of the order of 2.5 percent of the total debt.

It is clear that it will be necessary to produce a definitive computation with at least those republics which are leaving the Union, if not before their secession—which

would be ideal—then at any rate in the foreseeable future. And dividing up the asset side of the foreign debt account—those sums which our country has lent to other states—will scarcely be less complex than dividing up our liabilities.

Discussion about the fair division of the USSR foreign debt at the level of interrepublic experts has lasted around a year now and will certainly continue. The problem is a really contentious and complex one. I would like to hope that at least one version of its solution will be deemed a priori excluded by all—refusal to assume the succession of obligations.

Republics' Future Economic Ties Viewed

PM0409111991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the institute of international economic and political studies, by Yelizaveta Leontyeva; date and place of interview not stated; first paragraph is introduction: "Putsch Accelerated the State's Collapse. Will We Find a Way out of the Situation?"]

[Text] The putsch accelerated the state's collapse. Will we find a way out of the situation? USSR People's Deputy Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the institute of international economic and political studies, talks about this.

[Bogomolov] From the first days of the putsch I realized that it was lending powerful impetus to the collapse of our state. I realized that the republican political leaders, particularly the communist leaders, would try to exploit the split within the central leadership and the isolation of the USSR president to acquire their own independence and leave the control of the center. That is what we can see now. We heard it at the session—you Muscovites, they said, should mind your own business and not prevent us from minding ours.

After the defeat of the putsch the process of the country's disintegration acquired new dimensions—the Ukraine's statement of state independence, essentially of secession, sounds most serious here, of course. As for the Baltic republics, here we must restore historical justice and recognize as illegal their association to the Union. The Ukraine and Kazakhstan are obviously frightened by the growth of Russia's political authority and the anticommunist nature of the revolutionary events in Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of other cities. The country's president, as I see it from his speeches, is continuing to insist on the conclusion of the Union treaty in approximately the form in which it was before the putsch.

Yes, the situation has changed drastically, although even before the putsch it was clear that this treaty, if it was signed, would not work because relations between states have gone far beyond the framework of this legal form. And it is most likely that the desire for independence from the center will not slacken but on the contrary strengthen.

I think the main reason for this accelerated disintegration has not been named by the USSR president or indeed by many others. the putsch graphically demonstrated the unsoundness of the center, its inability to control the situation. By the center I mean the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Cabinet of Ministers, and the president himself. After all, warnings of the advent of a dictatorship were heard very loudly but in response the president lulled the vigilance of the nation, the peoples, and the supreme organs of power, assuring them that he was in control of the situation and—he proved unable to prevent the mortal threat of fascism which loomed over the country. And the Supreme Soviet, following Lukyanov, suffered from political blindness which became criminal and it was unconcerned, to put it mildly.

As an economist I should recall that all the president's actions were also aimed at pushing through an absolutely hopeless plan for economic stabilization. The only real chance of preventing the country's disintegration in that situation was the conclusion of an economic agreement between the republics and that agreement, incidentally, was central in the "500 days" program. But the president yielded to pressure from Ryzhkov and Yazov and betrayed Yeltsin, with whom he had agreed on the joint elaboration of that program, and betrayed Shatalin and Yavlinskiy, who had helped him, and put forward his own pointless compromise of a plan. Yet compromise was absolutely impossible, as I said at the time at the Supreme Soviet session on behalf of the interregional group. And therefore we must now understand the republics' desire to save themselves—there is no convincing proof that the center has become or soon will become any different and the president, it seems to me, is far from recovered from the confusion inherent in him during those days.

Yes, we are now hearing many arguments in favor of the Union. We are being intimidated with the idea that if ties between republics are broken complete collapse will ensue. But after all the acquisition of state independence and the collapse of economic ties are not one and the same thing. The latter does not necessarily stem from the former. It is very hard to use such arguments to persuade the republics' leaders and population—there are many examples in the world of the economies of very small states functioning more or less successfully. Ultimately within the framework of the so-called socialist community we have independent states which, when they had their own currency, find means of closely collaborating. In general it is entirely possible to imagine a workable system of economic relations, exchange, and so forth (given independence) which would not fully break ties between the republics but would make them fairer.

Today many republics do not believe that they are menaced by any threat from the Western powers and therefore do not want to bear an intolerable burden of

arms, which devours most probably over 12 percent of the national income, draining the country's blood (including in the intellectual sense). Hence the desire of, for instance, the Ukraine to become a nuclear-free state, to throw off this unbearable burden. In addition world experience has shown that in the economic respect rapid headway has been made by those countries which have had a minimum of military expenditure and commitments: Japan and Germany, for instance. They directed the funds thus released into improving their economies.

All this is forcing us to think seriously about what steps should be taken with regard to the state, political structure and with regard to the economy of the new international formation. Reality is such that we must pass through the process of the republics' complete liberation from the center, allow them to enjoy the fruit of complete liberation from the center, and to become aware, as a result of the acquisition of this independence, of their own genuine interests, which will push them toward mutual cooperation. It is now virtually impossible to impose any scheme on them from above.

It is of course extremely difficult to switch from a unitary empire to independent existence. That requires a transitional period, requires agreements. And I see the task of the congress in creating the relevant structures to dismantle the empire and form the prerequisites for a community of future states. Perhaps this will be not much more than a confederation (a federation is a state that has been passed through) and they will introduce their own currencies and carry out economic reforms at their own risk.

For that reason it is necessary to elaborate civilized methods of switching from one condition to another—sharing out property in a civilized manner, dealing with borders, creating a single directorate for the strategic armed forces, and not destroying the basic communications systems (transport and power, for instance). That is the task of the USSR president and the leaders of the republics for the transitional period. Constructing some very complex structures with all-union elections is unrealistic. That is why I disagree with those deputies who suggest repealing the president's additional powers. First, it is very hard to resolve these questions at a big "assembly" and, second, the president must redeem his guilt with intelligent, resolute actions.

Yugoslavia Scenario Predicted for USSR Breakup

PM0409115191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Sergey Semendyayev under the "Russia and the World" rubric: "Union: Views of the Future and the West"]

[Text] The members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency could not have foreseen in their worst dreams that the collapse of their putsch would have such results. Not only were the "old" six "renegade" republics joined by fresh people aspiring to leave the Union but they all had the overt backing of the West. TASS, which has once again renewed itself, has handed out simply stacks of cables on recognition of the three Baltic republics' independence and establishing direct diplomatic relations with them. Reports are coming in from all parts of the globe, even from far-off Australia. What is more, calls can be heard at the same time for immediate diplomatic recognition for Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia. Admittedly, there are some reasons for state interest in wresting these republics away from the Union (we are by no means casting doubt on their right to do this) like, for instance, the Romania-Moldova duo. However, by no means everyone in the West is roused to unrestrained rejoicing at the rapid collapse of the Soviet Union. Alarmed protests or warnings can be heard quite loudly among the enthusiastic voices.

First, the Austrian Foreign Ministry voiced serious concern, for instance, or, more precisely, made its recognition of the Baltic republics' independence conditional on observance of the rights of national minorities in these states. Obviously, the fate of the Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian diasporas in the Baltic should be the subject of multilateral talks, which could enshrine the principle of equal rights for representatives of these minorities and the indigenous population. Of course, the question is too important to be left aside while the Union Treaty is abrogated.

Second, what was Union property and the conventional borders drawn in the past between the republics may cause discord between virtually any two former subjects—selected at random—of the Union treaty. For instance, the Crimea may be claimed by the Tatars returning from exile, by Russia, which incorporated the peninsula until 1957, and lastly by the Ukraine, which has an all-Union sanatorium here. And how is Baykonur to be divided up. People in the West—and in the East, moreover (the Japanese Foreign Ministry was one of the first to become alarmed at a number of new republics seceding from the Union)—are perfectly well aware what these mutual claims may lead to. Yugoslavia, for instance, is highly indicative: how rapidly the conflagration of civil war flares up, how hard it is to extinguish, and how long it may smolder unnoticed. The scale of the possible conflict is simply terrifying.

Third, the Yugoslav scenario is considerably complicated by the fact that nuclear strategic weapons are to be found in several republics on whose territory they were based. If the Baltic republics do not claim their share of the nuclear pie named the Soviet Armed Forces and even demand their withdrawal from their territory, such statements should not be expected from other members of the Union, particularly such prominent members as the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The West is perfectly well aware how a "war" for the Kremlin legacy may end.

The conclusion is self-evident: Strict, consistent regulation is needed—centralized regulation, moreover—of the negotiating process on secession from the Union. It does after all look as though the collapse of the Union—

if it occurs—is no longer just the internal business of the 15 republics. The formation of new autonomous states also faces the world community with a host of economic, legal, and other problems. It is therefore inevitable and necessary to enlist representatives of the United Nations and some of our other partners on the world arena as observers.

Gorbachev Calls PRAVDA Chief Editor Seleznev

PM0109194991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report by G. Seleznev: "My Telephone Began To Ring"]

[Text] On Saturday morning my telephone at home did not stop ringing. Friends and acquaintances congratulated me on the publication of PRAVDA. But the newspaper's editorial council asked me to tell our readers about one particular telephone call. A call from the country's president. Mikhail Sergeyevich congratulated us on publication, asked detailed questions about how we had gone through the difficult week without commmunicating with our readers, and promised not to leave us to face alone the serious problems that may arise.

"My main concern now is to do everything to find a formula for accord for the peoples of all republics. That is the ultimate question," he said.

The country's president responded in the affirmative to my suggestion that he address this subject in PRAVDA. We will be waiting for that.

TASS Collegium Resigns En Masse

LD0209170991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1636 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By unidentified TASS correspondent: "TASS Collegium Resigns"]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Sep (TASS)—Numerous complaints have been leveled in recent times against the TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY OF THE SOVIET UNION [TASS]. Renewal and reform of TASS structures and work are long overdue. These issues were debated at a meeting of the agency's collegium on 2 September. Speakers were critical of their own work and mentioned problems faced by subdepartments and the agency as a whole, while putting forward numerous proposals for more effective use of TASS' potential. After all, the agency has highly qualified journalists and specialists, and is technically well- equipped and capable of successfully competing on the information market.

Understanding the need for a radical reorganization of work, the members of the agency collegium submitted a proposal to disband the collegium. This step was has been taken in the process of reforming TASS on the principles of freedom of speech and democracy, which demands a renewal of the top personnel. The collegium's resignation has been accepted by Director General Vitaliy Ignatenko. TASS' new bodies of administration will be determined in the near future in conjunction with the labor collective. In the meantime, the new director general asked all members of the collegium to continue fulfilling their duties and to ensure that the agency's subdivisions and services operate normally. The times demand now as never before that TASS information should be genuinely independent, objective, and truthful. And the forthcoming reform in the agency inspires hope that it will be such.

TASS Reviews 31 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD3108074291 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 31 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Today's press focuses on the special session of the Soviet parliament. On Friday, the parliament expressed protest against violations of parliamentary immunity and entrusted its legislation, law and order committee with drawing up a resolution on violations of immunity "in order to suppress at the very outset unlawful acts and ensure strict compliance with human rights, including rights of people's deputies".

Yuriy Kalmykov, the head of the parliamentary legislation committee, reported on priority measures and legal acts to rule out the possibility of events like those that occurred from August 19 to 21. He proposed on behalf of the committee to fill the "legislative gaps" at the current special session of the Soviet parliament or at its forthcoming regular session.

He said the parliament should expedite amendments to the laws of the USSR "on the legal status of the state of emergency", "on state crimes", "on state security agencies of the USSR" , "on public associations in the USSR" and "on the press and other mass media".

During the discussion, speakers focused on the need to specify more precisely the procedure and time-limits for the introduction of the state of emergency and the terms and procedures for the use of armed forces. They moved, among other things, that the criminal law should include a definition of high treason and punishment therefor. Other speakers favoured working out and passing regulatory enactments on the civil service, measures to preclude protectionism and corruption, the cancellation of all kinds of nomenklatura privileges and some legal acts concerning the economy.

The parliament then decided to set up an investigation commission to deal with the problem of taking to account officials guilty of violating the USSR Constitution.

The session approved a resolution on priority measures to prevent attempts at seizing power unconstitutionally, but decided to take a final vote on it on Saturday.

Also on Friday, the parliament approved the resolution on the agenda of the forthcoming extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. The agenda is published in today's newspapers.

The press today carries the text of President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree banishing military-political bodies in the Armed Forces, KGB, Interior Ministry and railway troops.

Newspapers publish reports about the news conference held in Moscow on Friday by the new KGB chief, Vadim Bakatin. Reporters single out his statement that the renovated KGB will take guidance in its work from such main principles as no party affiliation, the preservation of the integral KGB system under decentralization and the enhanced role of republican bodies, and openness to society.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries new Defence Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov's address, which stresses that "the attempt to make the Army participate in the unconstitutional conspiracy flopped, and this was one of the main reasons behind the failure of the plotters' failure".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes an interview with Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, in which the former minister discloses some particulars of the events that occurred between August 18 and 21. Bessmertnykh categorically denies any complicity in the coup.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (COUNTRY LIFE) published an interview with economist Nikolay Pirogov, chairman of the organizing committee of the universal commodity exchange-joint-stock society "Russia's Secondary Resources". The society stands out among numerous other stock exchanges already functioning in Russia and the Soviet Union as a whole. According to Pirogov, the society's activity will enable the use of primary resources to be cut by 20 percent within the next few years, thus considerably alleviating the ecological situation, reduce transport cost and labour intensiveness of a number of productions and even give the country hard currency receipts it needs so badly. The interview is followed by an advertisement telling the reader about the specific directions of the society's activity and announcing the first competitive sales scheduled for December.

After a week-long suspension, PRAVDA resumed publications today. The newspaper carried a line under its heading, saying its new founders are members of the journalists' organization of its editorial offices.

The newspaper devotes a page to the days of the coup, with pictures and comments by its correspondent under the headline "Tragic Days Through the Eyes of PRAVDA". Commentator S. Oganian says "we shall endeavour to work so that the next junta, should it ever come, make PRAVDA the first to be suspended".

"Today we are given a chance not to remain on the sidelines. A chance to become part of the renovating, renovated society," Oganian says.

TASS Reviews 3 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD0309071591 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 3 Sep 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight the special Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, which opened in Moscow on Monday.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish a statement by the Soviet president and leaders of ten republics at the forum.

PRAVDA publishes an address to the congress by Olga Ulyanova, in which she expresses concern over the future of Vladimir Lenin Museum in Moscow.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carry extracts from Mikhail Gorbachev's interview with Soviet television and the U.S. Cable News network.

Gorbachev met British Prime Minister John Major in Moscow, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports. The two expressed certainty that the situation allows an early ratification of the Conventional Forces in Europe Arms Agreement and the Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty.

The newspaper publishes an address by the Reporters Without Borders organisation and other international bodies to Russian President Boris Yeltsin calling on him to lift all bans from Communist Party newspapers.

PRAVDA carries an interview with an officer from the Alfa Special KGB Force which refused to storm the Russian Parliament during the recent coup.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorus. "The key political problem for Lithuania is to find a place in the world, especially in Europe. Certain Soviet leaders should be more consistent in managing political processes. It is necessary to foresee developments in politics. Only then is it possible to manage the course of events," he said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA analyses the Soviet Democratic Movement. It also runs an interview with Aleksandr Borkashev, chairman of the Slavyanskiy Sobor Duma. The events of August 19-21 were staged by the party elite, "a provocation aimed to incite civil war. There was no coup and no defence, just a single leftist coup," he believes.

The newspaper publishes an interview with General Vladimir Lobov, the new chief of Soviet General Staff.

A total of 53 percent of respondents in a public opinion poll conducted by the Soviet public opinion research centre in 14 Russian cities believe relations between Soviet republics will improve after the August events.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries extracts from Raisa Gorbachev's autobiography "I Hope".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries a deciaration of workers' rights, passed by the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comments on relations between Soviet republics. "It is unclear if a new Union treaty will be signed. One thing, however, is clear—the Union and relations between its subjects will be completely different," it writes. Much will depend on Russia's position.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Yelena Bonner. "The time of Sakharov's constitution has passed and we, as usual, missed the last car. We now have to think how to separate with minimum losses. Astonishingly, deputies at the special three day session of the USSR Supreme Soviet spoke about the past, when they should have discussed something completely different," Bonner said.

TRUD carries an interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, who believes that moral preparations for the putsch began when several newspapers and magazines started a vigorous propaganda campaign. Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev assured readers in an interview with TRUD that there will be no hunger this winter. He spoke about measures to supply food, fuel and electricity.

In another interview, Raisa Gorbachev told TRUD about the Soviet president's confinement on Foros Island.

"Those three days were horrible," she said.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN comments on difficulties farmers face in gathering vegetables.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publishes President Gorbachev's decree on the appointment of top officers in the Soviet armed forces, an address by the Soviet defence minister and the Defence Ministry collegium to troops and an interview with deputy defence minister P. Grachev about social programmes for servicemen.

In international sections, newspapers carry foreign comments on developments in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

TASS Reviews 4 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD0409070391 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 4 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—On Tuesday, President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin urged Soviet lawmakers to endorse proposals put before the Congress of People's Deputies by leaders of ten republics on Monday in a special statement, today's newspapers report.

The statement signed by Gorbachev and republican leaders calls for an early signing of a new Union treaty and an economic agreement and envisages replacing current legislative bodies—the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet—with new structures.

Debate on Tuesday, the second day of congressional work, revealed little opposition to the initiative. There were also no calls for Gorbachev's resignation. However, some speakers doubted the proposals' constitutionality.

Gorbachev criticised those deputies who "claim that the statement contradicts the constitution and Soviet laws and is yet another coup."

Bowing to criticism from deputies, Gorbachev agreed that the proposal to disband the congress and the Supreme Soviet and replace them with a new legislative body is inexpedient.

Today, the congress will vote on several draft documents put before it. Newspapers are cautious in forecasting possible results. Today it will become clear whether the "eleven" have succeeded in persuading deputies to "sacrifice their own interests" for the country's future, newspapers write.

TRUD, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA report clashes between police and protesters in the Georgian capital Tbilisi on Tuesday.

Protesters demanded the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Several people were killed when police dispersed the demonstration, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports. Gamsakhurdia said Georgian police and special security forces moved in to "crush a coup attempt."

New tensions have been reported in Moldavia following the arrest of I. Smirnov, leader of the Dniester republic, and several local lawmakers. Protesters in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa and other cities demanded their leaders be released.

PRAVDA carries an interview with former Soviet parliament chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov's defence attorney Genrikh Padva.

Padva and Aleksandr Gofstein, also a defence attorney, recently met Lukyanov in a detention centre.

The defence intends to demand Lukyanov's release today because "so far no concrete charges have been brought" against Lukyanov in connection with the recent coup and he is being "kept in detention on suspicion," Padva said.

Lukyanov's guilt is "very doubtful indeed," he said.

TRUD carries a feature article about Afghan war veteran Dmitriy Komar, who was killed in Moscow during the August 19-21 coup.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes an article about Russian poet Marina Tsvetaeva, commemorating the 50th anniversary of her death.

TASS Reviews 2 Sep PRAVDA

LD0209055791 Moscow TASS in English 0548 GMT 2 Sep 91

["Soviet PRAVDA Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 2 (TASS)—PRAVDA publishes today a telegram signed by Yelena Bonner, wife of the late human rights activist Andrey Sakharov, and Yuriy Samodurov, director of the organising committee of an international congress commemorating Sakharov, to President Mikhail Gorbachev and leaders of Soviet constituent republics.

Bonner and Samodurov offer a plan to stabilise the political, economic and psychological situation in the Soviet Union.

Soviet republics that have declared independence should join in a commonwealth of free sovereign republics of Europe and Asia, the message says.

Bonner and Samodurov decided to forward this proposal because the USSR president has not indicated what future he has in mind for people populating one-sixth of the planet, it says.

PRAVDA previews Gorbachev interview to Soviet television and the U.S. CNN network. Gorbachev said the coupsters should be punished and said he has no plans to resign.

The newspaper writes about the rise of Boldin, a close Gorbachev aide who was one of the organisers of the August coup.

Soviet republics are likely to unite in a confederation rather than a federation, PRAVDA writes.

Analyst Viktor Shirokov comments on the political set up at the special Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, which opens in Moscow today. Deputies will discuss ways to preserve the Union, it says.

Soviet farmers have so far sold 27.3 million tonnes of grain to the state, some 35 per cent of the state order, PRAVDA reports.

The newspaper reports foreign comments on developments in the Soviet Union. The West is concerned about the situation in the country, it writes. Pyongyang and Seoul have taken a wait-and-see stance and Kabul reacted cautiously to what had happened in Moscow. The Japanese plan to watch in what directions differences between republics will be developing, it says.

The newspaper urges its readers to subscribe for a "new" PRAVDA. "We an now an independent newspaper, pursuing a policy of common sense," it says.

Economic

Operational Management Committee Members Listed

PM0409084991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 2

[Resolution No. 1 of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy, carried under the general heading "Resolutions": "Questions of Organizing the Operational Management of the Country's National Economy"]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR Presidential Decree No. VII-2461 of 24 August 1991, the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy resolves:

1. On agreement with the governments of the union republics to incorporate the following as members of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy:

G.Z. Abdushalishvili—Georgian industry minister
A.Sh. Azibekov—chairman of the Azerbaijan State Committee for Material and Technical Supply
A.I. Bektemisov—chairman of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] State Committee for Material and Technical Supply
I.T. Gavrilov—deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers
I.Kh. Dzhurabekov—first deputy chairman of the Uzbek president's Cabinet of Ministers
V.B. Yefimov—RSFSR transport minister
D.Kh. Karimov—Tajik SSR first deputy prime minister
I.A. Kenik—deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers
V.I. Kisin—RSFSR industry minister
G.V. Kulik—deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
N.V. Mikhaylov—general director of the "Vympel" Central Science and Production Association
V.B. Nosov—general director of the State No. 1 Bearing Plant Production Association
V.D. Protasov—director of the Central Special Machine-Building Research Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences
Ye.F. Saburov—deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
V.M. Sergeyev—plenipotentiary representative of the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
N.T. Suyunov—deputy head of the Turkmen SSR Government

A.V. Ter-Israyelyan—deputy chairman of the Armenian State Economy Committee
V.G. Fedorov—permanent representative of the Ukrainian SSR
B.S. Khamidov—deputy chairman of the Uzbek president's Cabinet of Ministers
I.K. Chubuk—Moldovan permanent representative
T.Ch. Chyngyshev—state secretary of the Kyrgyz Cabinet of Ministers.

To accept the proposals made by the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian republics for the following to be included as observers in the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy: A. Gutmanis, Latvian deputy minister of economics; V. Novitskas, Lithuanian first deputy minister of economics; and J.A. Leimann, Estonian minister of economics.

2. Before the new Union executive organ is formed that the following distribution of duties be prescribed between the leader of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy and his deputies:

I.S. Silayev—coordination of joint actions by the governments of the union republics; examination and resolution of questions linked with the activity of the USSR Finance Ministry, USSR Defense Ministry, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR Foreign Ministry, USSR KGB, the USSR Committee for State Material Reserves, and the mass media;

A.I. Volskiy—examination and resolution of questions relating to the work of industry (including defense sectors), construction, transport, and communications;

Yu.M. Luzhkov—examination and resolution of questions relating to the agro-industrial complex, trade, foreign economic ties, and the social sphere;

G.A. Yavlinskiy—organization of work to prepare a program for economic reform in the country and to integrate the country into the world economy.

3. To make the following members of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy responsible for the leadership of individual areas of work:

A.I. Bektemisov—material and technical supply for the USSR national economy;

I.T. Gavrilov—the fuel and energy complex

Ye.F. Saburov—general economic questions.

V.M. Sergeyev is to maintain links between the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy and the public.

4. Leadership over USSR ministries and departments (the leaders of which have not been determined in accordance with prescribed procedure) and responsibility for the results of their activity are temporarily placed with the first deputy ministers and first deputy leaders of USSR departments in charge of general questions.

[Signed] Committee Leader I. Silayev.
Moscow, 28 August 1991.

Committee Outlines Priorities

OW0209005191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0001 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Committee for Operative Economic Management set up by President Gorbachev and the leaders of Soviet republics has outlined its main priorities in the next few weeks. The new body will remain the country's highest executive until a fresh inter-republican government is formed, Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, who leads the committee, said.

FINANCES

The committee's immediate plans envisage a package of deflationary measures, including a pay freeze. State Bank officials who compiled a special report for President Gorbachev say the Soviet Union is on the verge of financial collapse.

As industrial production slumps, the amount of idle money has soared and is expected to run at Rbl [rubles] 240 billion by the end of the year, almost a double rise since early this January. Money supply will increase from Rbl 136 billion to Rbl 236 billion in the (?1st) months since January. To straighten out money circulation, the State Bank is planning to issue Rbl 200 and Rbl 500 banknotes. A Rbl 100 note has been the highest denomination banknote in the past 30 years.

Independent experts say the Soviet Union's inflation rate may run at 1000 percent by the end of 1991. One of the committee leaders, Arkadiy Volskiy, who is also in charge of the Scientific Industrial League, SIL, called for resolute measures. However, he stressed that no money withdrawal or reform was envisaged.

FOOD SUPPLY

Under this year's government grain purchase plan, farm producers are expected to sell a total of 77 million tonnes to cover the population's needs for next year. However, the committee says the farmers delivered little over 25 million tonnes by the end of last month, which is 30 percent of what is needed as a minimum.

The committee has now set a minimal mandatory quota of grain sales to the state. Simultenously, the country's foreign trade bank, Vneshsekonombank, and committee officials were instructed to open talks for foreign credits to cover the imports of grain, sugar and vegetable oil.

FORMER CABINET DECISIONS TO BE REVIEWED.

The new committee is planning re-registration of all business concerns and associations set up by the previous cabinet. The move probably comes in response to demands by the republics which were unable to control operations by Moscow-run businesses on their territory. It also intends to revoke all of the former cabinet's anti-market regulations.

Silayev Calls For Economic Union 'Open to All'

LD0309153291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By Tass parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—An economic union should be open to all who wish to join, primarily the former Union republics, but could encompass such countries as Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Ivan Silayev, head of the Russian Government and of the recently formed Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, stated this today at a news conference held during a break between sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

His reasoning is that these countries were integrated into the Soviet economy no less than the Union republics themselves. If they are interested in joining such an economic union, we should admit them, Silayev stressed. He announced that there is agreement in principle on the three Baltic republics joining this union, and that their spokesmen "are highly interested" and "are playing a very active role".

On behalf of the Committee, the legal successor of the USSR Government, Ivan Silayev expressed full support for the statement by the USSR president and the top leaders of 10 republics, which was proclaimed at the congress yesterday. He thinks that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers "should no longer exist in any form," that other mechanisms must be created. Here he backed the idea of setting up an interim interrepublican economic committee, with representatives of all the republics on an equal basis: "This will be a bridge for establishing interaction between the USSR president and the executive bodies in the republics."

Arkadiy Volskiy, deputy head of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy, who took part in the press conference, was negative in his assessment of the composition of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Union parliament, declaring that with the formation of a Soviet of Representatives of People's Deputies "one need not weep for the present parliament."

Yuriy Luzhkov, the other deputy head of the committee, told journalists that given the grave situation in the country regarding foodstuffs, it is planned to give incentives to enterprises under all types of ownership to acquire food products abroad using their own foreign currency funds. Ivan Silayev added that the country needs assistance from without to survive in these circumstances. However, the committee is not counting on charity handouts, rather on credits, and on supplies of mass consumer goods. Silayev said that this was discussed at his recent talks with British Prime Minister John Major, and the Western partners expressed their readiness to offer such assistance.

Employment Problems Continue in Moscow

LD0409042191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—The suspension of the CPSU will not have any considerable effect on the level of unemployment in Moscow, believes Igor Zaslavskiy, director general of the capital's employment center. "According to our estimates, about 6,000 staff members of the party apparatus are now jobless in Moscow. True, none of them has yet come to us," he said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent today. [passage omitted]

The Moscow employment center, or the labor exchange as some people call it, opened on 1 July. Since that time, about 25,000 people have come here, but only 4,000 have been granted unemployed status. During the first three months the benefits paid by the exchange amounted to 75 percent of the previous salary. Over the following months the benefits decrease. Benefits are paid for a year.

According to the center, in Moscow, which has a population of 9 million, the unemployment level is 5-6 percent. At the same time, enterprises feel the shortage of skilled machine-tool operators, drivers, and builders.

Igor Zaslavskiy said that the center, which he runs, submitted a draft document on early retirement of unemployed citizens to the Moscow Government today. It is assumed that this measure will help those who have difficulties in adapting to new economic conditions. It is expected that unemployed men and women will be able to retire two years earlier than the currently established ages of 58 and 53, respectively.

Commentary: Union Breakup May Delay Western Aid

PM0309151191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Commentary by R. Simonyan, department director in the World Economics and International Relations Institute: "So Who Will the 'Group of Seven' Help Now—the USSR, a Renewed Union, or the Republics? Economist Specializing in International Affairs Comments"]

[Text] Once everything had become clear and the tanks were leaving Moscow, I flew to London on business. I would like to recount briefly how reaction to the events going on in our country changed there.

Thursday 22 August: There is rejoicing over the collapse of the coup and the victory of democracy, the steadfastness of Yeltsin and Russia, and the return of Gorbachev. There is general confidence that now the Union reform process will accelerate sharply, and there is a genuine feeling of guilt: All too often we adopted the position of an onlooker and did not do everything to reform the Soviet economy. There is a readiness to proffer massive assistance.

Friday: The mood changes dramatically. Gorbachev's unsuccessful press conference, and his cold and at times humiliating reception in the Russian Parliament mean that commentaries take on a totally different character. Once again, comparative evaluations of Yeltsin and Gorbachev come to the fore, and the theme of cooperation is replaced by the theme of rivalry. The question of whether or not Gorbachev will remain in power is discussed. There is still no doubt about the need for massive aid, but the question arises: Whom should we gamble on and who should be aided and how?

Saturday and Sunday see a relative lull.

Then on Monday the Union Parliament begins work and there is a new twist. The republics' declarations of independence produce total confusion regarding what is to happen with economic aid in general. Enthusiasm over a possible acceleration of reforms declines. There are fears of a complete collapse of statehood in the Soviet Union and Western businessmen are increasingly wary...

It is perfectly obvious that opportunities for the West to provide economic assistance have been complicated. It is difficult for developed countries to make decisions until the political and economic basis of the USSR has been defined. As Western businessmen like to say, when you write a check, you must at least know to whom.

There is another obvious truth: If a Union structure remains, it must be effective and manageable. This is impossible without a single currency, a federal banking system, a single customs service, and so on. And if our fatherland has no prophet of its own, then ask the economists, businessmen, and bankers of any Western country about it. Without all the things mentioned above, nobody will have any serious dealings with us.

Of course, the republics may break up with or without mutual links in the form of various agreements. They may appeal for aid and assistance independently or together. However, it is one thing to help the Union (here the role of strategic, political, and economic factors is clear), and quite another to help individual independent republics. I think that in the second instance the scale of possible aid will be different, and it will hardly be given on the basis of the principle of "something for everybody." Thus it is not impossible that the majority of republics will lose out as a result.

Take this simple question: Membership in the IMF and the World Bank. Without this membership, we cannot receive massive economic and technical assistance. Now, in my view, the situation is that the "Group of Seven" countries today are prepared to resolve the question of full membership in the IMF and World Bank. J. Major has openly said this. This is vital for us. But who should be admitted to full membership? If it is to be the Union, then what kind of Union? Or should it be the individual republics? But I fear that this will seriously delay a solution to this issue.

We need a good economic program, but let's be honest: We cannot cope with this on our own. We need to elaborate a program in conjunction with the IMF, the World Bank, the OES [as published; expansion unknown: possible misprint for OESR—Russian abbreviation for OECD], the European Bank, and other leading international organizations, but is it feasible to speedily carry out this work for each of the republics?

There must be no hasty decisions in the euphoria of victory. God forbid that we should forget—like the putschists during the coup—that we do not live in isolation. Every one of our actions evokes a swift reaction in the world in general, and in the business world even more so. And when by the stroke of a pen the status of the USSR State Bank or the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is altered, then it is vital to understand what repercussions this may have on world financial markets—especially considering the size of our debts—and how in the long run this will affect our chances of obtaining credit and attracting foreign investment. Emotion and good intentions must not deprive us of common sense and pragmatism.

The difficulties with our economic reforms did not end when the coup failed—indeed, they are only beginning. The time for slogans and debates has passed; the time has come for action. We have a real opportunity to rapidly carry out the most radical transformations, including unpopular ones. We have gained the credit of confidence, but it is not inexhaustible. The main thing now is to justify this credit with actions dictated—I repeat—by pragmatism and not by emotion.

Military

Defense Minister Shaposhnikov on Situation

Appeal on Mood Within Armed Forces

PM0309093191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1,3

[USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov appeal: "USSR Defense Minister's Appeal"]

[Text] The Armed Forces, in conjunction with the entire Soviet people, have come through the difficult days of the coup d'etat. The attempt to render the Army an accessory to the implementation of an anticonstitutional scheme failed and this was one of the main reasons for the plotters' downfall. It is galling to acknowledge that, at a crucial time for the fate of the fatherland, not all members of the leadership of the Armed Forces adopted a firm stance vis-a-vis the coup nor did they dissociate themselves from it with utmost determination. But the overwhelming majority of the Armed Forces' personnel displayed great presence of mind, responsibility, staunchness, devotion to their military oath and military duty, and loyalty to the USSR Constitution and their people.

The capital's residents made a fitting appraisal of that fact. On the streets of Moscow, outside the Russian parliament building, and everywhere that troop subunits were present, people displayed the kindest feelings toward officers and enlisted men. In effect, this unity also guaranteed the victory of the forces of democracy and progress.

The men of the Armed Forces mourn the casualties which, to their profound regret, it did not prove possible to avoid. The leadership of the Defense Ministry and all Army and Navy personnel are fully determined to do, and will do, everything they can to ensure that such tragedies never happen again. Our Army will never take up arms against its own people.

Today life in the forces and fleets is returning to normal. Everything is being done to ensure that the atmosphere in every troop collective is stable and calm. Steps are being taken to strengthen the officer corps—the backbone of the Armed Forces—to revive the prestige of the officers' profession, and resolutely step up guarantees of legal and social protection for servicemen and their families. Army and Navy servicemen serving on the Russian Federation's territory reacted gratefully to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's ordinance designed to resolve these difficult problems.

Soldiers, seamen, NCO's, petty officers, ensigns, warrant officers, officers, generals, and admirals are performing their military service with dignity and honor in difficult, often extreme conditions. They are suffering acutely from the decline in the prestige of the Armed Forces that has occurred over the last few years and are fully aware of the need to more resolutely eradicate existing shortcomings in the Army and Navy and are doing everything they can to accomplish this task. The leadership of the Armed Forces and all military cadres are counting on effective help from state organs, labor collectives, the public, and servicemen's parents. For their part, Army and Navy personnel are striving, despite the difficulties arising from the in-depth reform of all structures of the Armed Forces, the ongoing withdrawal of troops from abroad, and the acute housing shortage, to maintain Armed Forces' training and combat readiness at the proper level.

The men of the Armed Forces feel bitter at the attempts to indiscriminately denigrate history and current army and navy life, by unjust, undeserved recriminations and accusations leveled at them, and by cases of discrimination and violation of their honor and dignity. This harms the personnel's morale and rocks one of the buttresses of the people's spirit—the men's heroic patriotic consciousness, and their perception of military duty as a supreme honor and sacred obligation.

Like our entire country, the Armed Forces are currently undergoing a complex and crucial phase in their development. Planned, major changes in their composition, structure, and technical equipment have been carried out and continue to be carried out, the activity of political parties' organizational structures has been suspended, and military-political organs are being dissolved.

The men of the Armed Forces value the fact that the people have accorded them the supreme honor of protecting the Soviet people's tranquillity and peaceful labor. They will do everything to justify this trust and will serve the people and their multiethnic fatherland loyally and truly.

[Signed] USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov.

Outlines Forthcoming Tasks

LD0409094191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, USSR Minister of Defense, has named three urgent tasks to a Russian Information Agency correspondent. First, to preserve the army and military collectives and impermissibility of a witch-hunt. The minister stressed that only law and order bodies have the right to call a person a criminal. The second task is the departyization and depolitization of the army. The third task is military reform, the marshal thinks. My task is to ensure that the army stays united irrespective of the form adopted by our state: federation or confederation, he added. In connection with this, the minister said, he has already held consultations with the USSR president and currently he holds consultations with leaders of the republics who participate in the work of the fifth extraordinary congress of USSR People's Deputies.

General Mikhaylov Questioned on Coup Role

PM0209102191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Army General Vladlen Mikhaylovich Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff Main Intelligence Directorate, by unnamed KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists including

A. Korzun, first four paragraphs are editorial introduction: "The Main Intelligence Directorate: Are They Changing the Water in the 'Aquarium'?"]

[Text] By the morning of 22 August, soon dubbed Victory Morning, one of the volunteer defenders of the "White House," dressed in a lieutenant colonel's uniform, was staring hard from the window at the people singing and rejoicing around the camp fires.

"Oh, I do not like this premature celebration," Sergey M., staffer of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU], his face showing the stubble and fatigue of three tense days, replied when I asked what he was concerned about. "Colleagues have told me that the position of the GRU command is still not clear. If the GRU Spetsnaz [special purpose troops] side with the putschists, the 'White House' will be captured in a few minutes. I know that...."

Many people in our country do not even suspect the GRU spetsnaz subunits exist and experts do not immediately find epithets to describe their professional qualities, and fortunately they did not "show their mettle" around the Russian parliament. However, when working on a journalistic investigation of the participation of USSR Defense Ministry troops in the 19-21 August events, we could not disregard the military intelligence department.

Army General Vladlen Mikhaylovich Mikhaylov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry General Staff GRU, invited KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalists to his office to answer our questions.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Is this the "Aquarium" described in such detail in Viktor Suvorov's book of the same name?

[Mikhaylov] Yes, this building, where you are now sitting, is the one called the "Aquarium" by our former agent. Have you noticed that there is a lot of glass here? It was built as a hospital. Incidentally, the author's real name is Rezun. He was a colonel of ours, he fled to England about 11-12 years ago. Now he lives about 70 km north of London on the site of a British intelligence unit like our special purpose unit. He is still afraid to live openly in London or any other city. Even though the old methods of annihilation used by his kind went out of fashion long ago. That is well known and Colonel Krapiva, who recently fled from Vienna, is living quite openly in the United States. People believe that Rezun did the GRU great harm. In some ways he did, but he did more harm to the foreigners working for us. He revealed their names and the local authorities arrested them.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What are the GRU's main tasks?

[Mikhaylov] Only military intelligence. Armed forces—that is one area. Equipment and armaments—two. Theater of operations equipment is number three. And the economy working for the armed forces—number four. Those are the questions that we work on.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] And Stinger missile spares—that is your job?

[Mikhaylov] Precisely. It is our job. Incidentally, this job is done in various ways. In some places our people get hold of them, in others foreigners help, and sometimes we simply buy them. Radio intelligence is constantly monitoring the whole world's air waves on military frequencies. Everything is recorded and processed. This is just like in other intelligence services in the world, by the way.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Have you been GRU chief for long?

[Mikhaylov] Four years. I am not a professional intelligence officer, I am a purely military comrade. I was a regiment commander, a division commander, army chief of staff, military district chief of staff, on the General Staff, and then I came here, to the GRU.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Now for the standard question: What did you do in the coup?

[Mikhaylov] On 19 August I was recalled from leave. I arrived and reported present. As a matter of fact I was at work on August 20 and 21 and did not go anywhere. The situation here was calm, we were engaged, as usual, in our intelligence activity outside Soviet borders, not within it—that is not our duty.

Admittedly, we do have intelligence units in military districts on USSR territory but they are under the jurisdiction of the district commanders there. Just a few GRU units in the USSR are directly accountable to me, such as space intelligence and radio intelligence.

I did not receive any commands or orders from the General Staff to transfer intelligence units from the districts. I really do not have the right to command such units. I can issue commands to the Space Intelligence Center, for example, but this is a purely technical subunit—nothing but antennas. The Radio Intelligence Center for radio interception is a vast array of antennas, too, occupying thousands of kilometers on the periphery of the Soviet Union. Nor did I receive intelligence instructions—either written or oral—relating to Moscow and Moscow Oblast from the now former Defense Minister or the now former chief of the General Staff. No one from the "group of eight" contacted me either.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] And you did not try to clarify the situation yourself or work out what you should be doing?

[Mikhaylov] Of course not. This was not required. The people who work in this building live all over Moscow and saw what was happening on the road as they came to work. They reported to me. But that I should send colonels and generals out to observe and watch—no, that is not right. That is impossible.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] I mean, did you yourself not contact members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency or the defense minister directly?

[Mikhaylov] No. I could phone Yazov at any time, there is the telephone. I could phone Moiseyev. But I did not. I repeat, I did not contact any of them on any question. Nor did they contact me.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Can you explain the strange fact that the GRU, such a powerful department of the Defense Ministry, was somehow forgotten whereas the putschists pinned their main hopes on the Army?

[Mikhaylov] I did not even know at first that the troops had been raised. It was only on the road to work that I saw troops and hardware in the city. They seemed to be engaged on the question of bringing troops into Moscow.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Suppose the State Committee for the State of Emergency had remained in power after 22 August, too. Does that mean that when bringing troops into Moscow and other large cities in the Union the General Staff might have remembered the GRU?

[Mikhaylov] I have heard rumors that GRU special purpose [osnaz] and spetsnaz units were in Moscow. I can say with the utmost responsibility that there were no such GRU units in Moscow. They are all stationed in military districts on the border. And to summon them would need a directive either from the defense minister or the chief of the General Staff and furthermore a copy of the directive would have had to be sent to me and I would have known about the transfer of spetsnaz or military intelligence. Furthermore, I contacted the chiefs of intelligence in the districts every day—none of them informed me that the spetsnaz had been brought into operation anywhere. Although I do not rule out the fact that commanders could have used the spetsnaz.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Incidentally, what are the GRU spetsnaz?

[Mikhaylov] Unlike the KGB spetsnaz, our units are trained for war. And they are trained to be sent deep behind enemy lines, disguise themselves there, observe the enemy, and report back. That is the first task. The second is to sabotage important facilities and capture the necessary people. GRU spetsnaz groups are very small—from three to seven people. They know each other personally, they are a well-oiled and cohesive team. These lads get behind the front line by various means—by plane, helicopter, hang-glider, bicycle, motorcycle, and on foot. But they do not use infantry fighting vehicles. These teams have no such equipment. We have problems, too. The spetsnaz member must be transported not in military uniform but in full gear, in the civilian dress of the country in question. That is why we make or obtain such clothing so that our people do not stand out from the ordinary people. Replacing this clothing is a costly and complex question. But the most complex thing is knowledge of languages. All spetsnaz teams have definite "spheres of interest." For example, in the Leningrad Military District they have to know Swedish or Finnish. In the Belorussian Military District it is German. It depends on the countries where they are to be sent. Of course, the GRU spetsnaz man knows parachute jumping and hand-to-hand combat. But in the main, attention is focused on work using radio communications means, surveillance, and subversion.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What about the Moscow Military District spetsnaz?

[Mikhaylov] Yes, there is such a team. But it was and remains stationed in Chuchkovskiy Rayon in Ryazan Oblast.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Circles close to the Russian Government have reported that teams of 5-10 men, most probably GRU staffers, tried to infiltrate the "White House" on the eve of the planned storming of the building....

[Mikhaylov] I have no such information....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But Kalinin, commandant of Moscow, could have brought spetsnaz from Chuchkovo into the operations, couldn't he?

[Mikhaylov] That is his brigade, and he could have dispatched them wherever he liked. Only I do not know whether an assault was actually planned. Even if there were such plans, was it necessary to bring the GRU into operation? If, as is said, a tank battalion was dispatched for this purpose, 30-40 tanks shelling the building would have caused it simply to collapse. But our small groups of spetsnaz would hardly have been successful in seizing the "White House." There were many weapons there, that is known. And even if these groups, say, five men each, had penetrated the building via a window, they would have been quickly intercepted. The defenders, after all, were not simply sitting around waiting. Particularly as you were aware that Colonel General Kobets is a former subordinate of mine, only not in the GRU. I was chief of staff of the Far East troops, while he was communications chief for four years. We worked together in Ulan-Ude. Therefore he had a first-rate knowledge of how to defend himself, what the spetsnaz are, and the kind of equipment they used.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Was the coup supported in the GRU?

[Mikhaylov] There were no rallies in support of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in any military intelligence unit. And there were no demands for such. They were ordered to get on with their normal duty.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] If Gorbachev had not been brought back to Moscow on 22 August and resistance had continued, what would you have preferred: To obey Yazov or to support the "White House"?

[Mikhaylov] We already knew that a whole series of army units plus Shaposhnikov and Grachev, commanders of the Air Force and airborne troops, had begun to waver and to get into contact with Comrades Yeltsin and other comrades. To be frank, no coup at all was required in our country. The question was one of economic affairs. If there was a need to introduce a state of emergency, it should have been done constitutionally, and not with the help of the Armed Forces. The appearance of tanks and other equipment on the streets of Moscow became an absurdity.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Were you in contact with the KGB?

[Mikhaylov] Many times. But it all amounted to our asking each other about news on the situation. The comrades from the KGB Third Main Directorate did perhaps know more than us, but they did not explain anything to us.

(KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Have GRU changes been broached?

[Mikhaylov] Yes, we have already received instructions from the new defense minister about scrapping the party organizations. That work is already under way: All full-time party workers are being discharged from their jobs on pension or to take up work in their specialism. Another task is scrapping the military political organizations.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Defense Minister Shaposhnikov has said that around 80 percent of the Armed Forces' senior command personnel will be renewed....

[Mikhaylov] And I most likely will be removed from command. After all, I sat here and did not act in any way.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you say that with regret?

[Mikhaylov] No, I state it as a fact.

Instead of a Commentary

We met with Army General Mikhaylov a few days ago and have already reported in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that the GRU chief completely denies any involvement, even indirect, of his department in the putsch. However, even on the day that a brief interview with General Mikhaylov appeared in the newspaper several GRU staffers who had made up their minds to disagree with their chief approached the editorial office. We would very much like to believe in the sincerity of the words of Vladlen Mikhaylov, USSR people's deputy and chief of the GRU, but we cannot disregard either the testimony of his subordinate officers. We therefore give them a platform here.

Colonel Aleksandr Kondrashov has eight years of service in the GRU, he is a specialist in space intelligence gathering, and was a participant in the defense of the "White House".

[Kondrashov] Indeed GRU spetsnaz in Moscow did not during those August days take a direct part in preparing the putsch. However, this does not mean that the GRU does not at all interfere in the internal affairs in our country: For example, the spetsnaz is very active in the Transcaucasus. Moreover, at the end of the year and in January former colleagues of mine in the Space Reconnaissance Center wondered why the photographing of major cities, particularly Vilnius, was stepped up. After 13 January it became clear.

As far as the days of the putsch are concerned, however, according to my figures, three-quarters of all information that came into the GRU was devoted to the country's internal political situation.

On 19 August GRU officers in Moscow and staffers of the USSR Ministry of Defense General Staff Diplomatic Academy were given the order to present themselves at rallies and the barricades in civilian dress. All the information about the "rebels" and "ringleaders" flowed to Colonel General Yu. Gusev, Mikhaylov's first deputy. Incidentally, officers did the same during the March referendum.

Senior officers were very dissatisfied that Mikhaylov, a noncareer intelligence office, was using lieutenant colonels and colonels as "gumshoes," which was typical of the tsarist secret police, but is not at all the business of intelligence officers. [Kondrashov ends]

Another GRU staffer, who asked not to be named, reported as follows.

[Unidentified GRU staffer] The task set on 19 August was to stop the independent radio stations operating. A meeting was held 26 August at the GRU where it was said that we did not participate in the coup. And that it would be better if staffers who had any information kept quiet. All the documents pointing to GRU involvement in the coup had, however, been destroyed even earlier.

Stepashin Views on Post-Coup Control of Forces

LD0209153691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Will the Soviet Armed Forces be kept intact and who is going to control the Soviet nuclear weapons? We have taken these burning questions to the chairman of the Russian parliament's security committee, Sergey Stepashin.

To begin with, how could it happen that the unity of the Armed Forces—and all participants in a future and renewed Union seem to have agreed upon this kind of unity—has got a different interpretation? How do you comment, Sergey?

[Begin Stepashin recording, in Russian fading to English translation] We are late again. Delegations of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan met shortly before the coup. All the four republics described an integral army as a pressing necessity. Besides, they specified their powers of troop control on their territories and worked out military reform guidelines. The draft agreement drew support from representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, too. But the Defense Ministry hindered the signing. [end recording]

In the context of what is known as constituent republics' sovereignty parade [as heard], is every republic going to build its own armed forces? I don't think we must dramatize the situation, says Sergey Stepashin. Republics, including those that are not going to sign the Union treaty, must sign a military agreement shortly. Experience prompts this.

And now this question: How can we prevent republics from pulling nuclear weapons apart?

[Begin Stepashin recording, in Russian fading to English translation] I am sure we will keep intact the nuclear forces command and avert nuclear weapons spreading. Significantly, the key political groups in the Ukraine, including the opposition, are calling for a nuclear-free zone. Besides, Belorussia has already got rid of nuclear weapons. These were removed after the Chernobyl accident. The nuclear-free feelings of Kazakhstan, too, are well known—the republic has closed the Semipalatinsk test site. All this goes for speeding up cuts in strategic nuclear arms. [end recording]

Commander of Anti-Aircraft Troops on Coup

LD0309224191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1151 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, 3 Sep (TASS)—"Personnel in our troops did not in any way support either the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency or the few military commanders who openly called on servicemen to give such support." This is what Air Force Colonel General Viktor Prudnikov, who was recently appointed by the USSR president the new commander in chief of the anti-aircraft troops and USSR deputy minister of defense, told a TASS correspondent today.

At the same time, V. Prudnikov admitted that his appointment was linked, to a considerable degree, to the recent failed coup d'etat. Apart from himself, the new commander in chief said, the majority of members of the Military Council are being reappointed to the anti-aircraft troops, which is a direct consequence of the tragic events.

Having pointed out the need to restructure the military-industrial complex, he mentioned numerous instances of failure by the military hardware with which the anti-aircraft troops are armed. Stress should be placed on quality control in this area as early as the stage of theoretical development, V. Prudnikov noted in connection with this. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Collegium Appeals to Army

PM0309095691 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1, 3

[Undated address signed by USSR Defense Ministry Collegium: "To Servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces"]

[Text] Together with the entire country and the entire people, the Armed Forces have overcome a difficult, crucial milestone in the Fatherland's history. The coup d'etat was a severe trial of the strength of perestroyka's democratic gains. It showed the determination of Muscovites and Russians, headed by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and president, to uphold these gains. At the same time, it was a tough trial of the sense of civic duty and courage of Army and Navy personnel and their loyalty to their military duty and the USSR Constitution. And the vast majority of servicemen—from private soldiers to commanding officers of all ranks—passed this test with honor. The conspirators' hopes of using the Army to implement their own designs failed totally.

During the highly complex situation that arose in the days of the coup, Armed Forces servicemen displayed a conscious, organized, and responsible approach, a high level of political awareness, and firm commitment to the cause of democracy and progress. They felt themselves to be an integral part of the people, who had entrusted them with the defense of their vital interests.

A turning point has come in reviving the prestige of military service and the Armed Forces and restoring to them the people's love and respect. Today, when the coup has drastically intensified the centrifugal trends in our multinational country, more importance than ever before is attached to the inner cohesion of military collectives, especially officers' collectives, and to maintaining and strengthening the bonds of collectivism, military comradeship, and soldierly friendship. This is the most important condition and pledge of the effective functioning of the Armed Forces as an important factor for the inner unification of our country's peoples, the formation of internationalist qualities in young people, the preservation and strengthening of the age-old traditions of friendship and fraternity of all nationalities, and ultimately the stability and might of the renewed Union of sovereign states.

The Defense Ministry Collegium is taking all the necessary measures to ensure a stable, calm, and businesslike atmosphere in the Armed Forces and channel the efforts of command cadres and all personnel into tackling to a high standard the tasks of combat readiness and training and the strengthening of discipline and regulation order, and into fulfilling measures to assist the country's national economy.

All attempts to organize a so-called "witch-hunt" or to sow suspicion, strife, distrust, or attitudes of confrontation, factionalism, and opposition between those who fulfilled orders during the days of the coup and who did not fulfill them, are absolutely impermissible and must be most resolutely nipped in the bud. These things are pernicious for military collectives and for the cause of combat readiness and military discipline. Soldier's, officer's, and military honor categorically rejects talebearing, informing, and moral unscrupulousness. In the present complex situation in which our society finds itself, the Armed Forces should show themselves to be a united, cohesive, harmonious multinational combat organism. Only then can they successfully tackle the tasks of fundamental transformation of the Army and Navy within the framework of radical military reform and worthily fulfill the responsible and honorable mission of reliably defending the Motherland.

The acceleration of the Armed Forces' progress toward a new qualitative status depends crucially on the competence, practicality, and highly developed organization, discipline, and performance of military cadres, especially officers. In the conditions of the cessation of the activity of political parties and political movements in the Army and Navy and the abolition of military-political organs, it is important to organize effective educational work with personnel that is an integral part of the troops' combat training. It is tremendously important to fill with real meaning the effective status of the Officers' Assembly as a generator of dignity, honor, devotion to military duty, high political and general culture, and democratism among military cadres. It is necessary to step up the work of permanent certification commissions and other democratic institutions in the Army and Navy and increase their contribution to forming a sound moral and political atmosphere in the military collectives and to resolving the tasks facing the Armed Forces.

The entire potential of creativity, initiative, and professional skill of warrant officers, sergeants, and petty officers—numerically the largest and the most influential group of command cadres—must be brought in to the creative work of transforming the Armed Forces. Efficient organization of the process whereby they are selected and of their all-around training, support for and enhancement of their authority, the boosting of service zeal—this is a task of priority importance for commanding officers at all levels. In every subunit, unit, and ship, work must be organized in such a way that every soldier and seaman is under the daily influence of commanding officers, that exactingness combined with concern and attentiveness toward his joys and sorrows, needs and aspirations are no mere declaration, but a reality, a day-to-day norm of military life. Only thus is it possible to achieve true spiritual proximity between commanding officers and their subordinates—the fundamental basis of true military discipline and order and the relations of soldierly friendship and comradeship among troops that have always been our Army's strength.

The heroic combat traditions of the Armed Forces must be fully utilized in the cause of rallying and effectively training and educating personnel. Half a century has passed since the start of the Great Patriotic War. The 50th anniversaries of its most important events lie ahead. And attention toward the feat of the heroes of the last war, who defended our Motherland against the aggressor and won victory, must help to form in personnel a sense of devotion to the military oath, courage, staunchness, and valor, and the other qualities that form the basis of the Soviet military character.

At this crucial point in the development of our society and Army, it is the duty of Soviet servicemen to fulfill with dignity and honor the duties of military service, to maintain vigilance, and to ensure high combat readiness, in order reliably to safeguard Soviet people's peaceful labor and peaceful life and the security of our Motherland—the USSR.

[Signed] The USSR Defense Ministry Collegium.

General Lobov on Army Reform, Gulf War Lessons

PM0109210991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, by IZVESTIYA correspondent N. Burbyga under the "Appointments" rubric—place and date not given]

[Text] Army General Vladimir Lobov has been appointed chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. Our correspondent talks to him.

From an IZVESTIYA file: Army General Lobov is 56 years old. A Russian, he was born in Bashkiria into a peasant family. During the well-known events in Alma-Ata, as commander of the Central Asian Military District, he did not bring his troop units out onto the streets of the capital of Kazakhstan, for which he fell into disgrace. Lobov is a doctor of military sciences and candidate of historical sciences. In 1986 he was the first general to submit a concrete program for the radical reform of the Armed Forces. Prior to his appointment as chief of the General Staff he held the post of first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

During the attempted coup d'etat he adopted a position of nonrecognition of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

[Burbyga] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have begun to carry out your duties as chief of the General Staff at, let us be blunt, a difficult time for the Army. How do you plan to begin?

[Lobov] Until recently the Army was so politicized—and what is more carried out functions alien to it—that many generals and officers had forgotten their main purpose—

that of defending the Motherland. That is why everything must now be done to find a dignified way out of the situation in which we have found ourselves: The Armed Forces must attend to their own business.

[Burbyga] Some republics have declared full sovereignty, with all the consequences arising therefrom. In particular, the republics will now have their own armies. How do you regard that?

[Lobov] I have always supported unified Armed Forces. I believe the reason why is clear. However, I do not rule out other options. After all, we are still living in accordance with the 1862 reforms, when the military districts were organized in Russia. Today independent republics have emerged in our state and, needless to say, in the situation in which our country finds itself we cannot tackle questions of military organizational development without their participation. Therefore various options are possible, one of which might be A civilian defense ministry and civilian defense committees in the republics, oblasts, and below. And, in parallel with it, a troop command on the territory of a given republic. In that case the government can pursue military organizational development vertically and horizontally via the ministry and the General Staff, which should cooperate closely. In short, my idea is this: greater autonomy on questions of military organizational development. There may also be other options. The main thing is not to commit follies!

[Burbyga] How do you regard the idea of setting up a professional army?

[Lobov] I support planned radical reform of the Armed Forces and I think that everyone should be a professional in their job—whether a streetcar driver or a serviceman. I see my task as being to speed up this process as much as possible.

[Burbyga] Among the defenders of the Russian parliament there were many students who opposed the USSR Supreme Soviet's adopting the draft law on the draft that the Defense Ministry had prepared. How will this issue be settled?

[Lobov] Students must study. After all, the country does not only need good soldiers.... We have said a great deal about professionalism and accumulating scientific potential, but we ourselves have done everything to eliminate it, sometimes without being aware of it. But I can say that it has already been decided not to draft students.

[Burbyga] There is the opinion among the military that we made greater concessions than the Americans when cutting back strategic offensive arms and conventional arms....

[Lobov] I am worried least of all by the quantitative side of this question. After all, everyone knows that the world has accumulated so many nuclear weapons that they could destroy the planet dozens of times over. What difference is there if we make a few more cuts than the Americans in some areas...? I think we need to pay greater attention to the quality of equipment and armaments. The Gulf War, which many military men regarded, regrettably, merely as an episode, demonstrated in my view that victory in modern warfare can be secured not only by quantity but mainly by quality. There were combat operations in the course of which state-of-the-art means of armed combat were tested—ranging from space-based weapons to conventional weapons. We must see this and learn from it. Our country too must adopt definite decisions on this. The Motherland must be reliably defended, and thus its Armed Forces must be equipped with modern armaments and hardware. But, while talking about a qualitatively new approach to army questions, I still support confidence-building between countries.

[Burbyga] How do you regard the departyization of the Army? The defense minister has already set an example—he has left the party. Are you still a member?

[Lobov] This is not the most important issue for the chief of the General Staff. What is more, this question no longer arises following the Decree on Departyization.

Soviet Army Draftees From Baltics Demobilized

PM0309160191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Leonid Levitskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Hand in Your Greatcoat and Go Home"]

[Text] Tallinn—Lieutenant General V. Mironov, new commander of the Baltic Military District, announced at a meeting with A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, the demobilization of young people drafted from the Baltic states' territory.

The people being sent home are not only those soldiers who have seen some service and those who were about to but also those convicted by military tribunals, including those serving their sentence in disciplinary battalions.

The USSR Defense Ministry has issued an instruction to prepare for the transfer of the buildings and property of military commissariats to republican organs.

There is one more near-sensational news item. As of Monday 2 September the western border of the Estonian Republic, which is currently also the western border of the Union, will be guarded jointly by USSR border troops and the Estonian Republic's border service. This is a temporary arrangement. Gradually the republic will assume control of the land border and border regions [kordon] and then of the maritime border. The agreement on this matter has been signed by Estonian Prime Minister E. Savisaar and Lieutenant General V. Gaponenko, commander of the Baltic Border District.

Baltic Independence Resolution in Preparation

OW0309164391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] People's Deputy of Estonia Juhan Aare told BF [BALTFAX] that, currently, a drafting commission of the Congress of People's Deputies is preparing a draft resolution on the recognition of the Baltics' independence by the congress. In the words of Mr. Aare, the draft resolution includes a point envisaging that the recognition will come into force only after the Baltics confirm their commitment to observe human rights. Mr. Aare explained that this point would give certain guarantees to the Russian-speaking population of these republics.

Mr. Aare also said that people's deputies are likely to receive the text of the draft resolution on September 3 after a break. If th Estonian deputies see that the resolution may not be passed by the congress, they will try to withdraw it and after that they will ask the USSR president to issue a decree recognizing the Baltics' indepencence, Mr. Aare pointed out. "The question is virtually settled. However, it would be troublesome, if we fail to collect a necessary number of votes. So, we should do our best to achieve a success", Mr. Aare stressed.

On Monday afternoon 36 people's deputies representing Estonia at the congress passed a message to Mikhail Gorbachev urging him to issue a decree on the recognition of Estonia as an independent state. The message expresses readiness to continue interstate talks if the USSR president arranges for them.

According to Mr. Aare, the Estonian deputies do not rule out the possibility of meeting Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Baltic Foreign Ministers to Visit Hungary

OW0309045291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the invitation of the Hungarian Government, the foreign ministers of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania Lennart Meri, Janis Jurkans, and Algirdas Saudargas are leaving for Budapest today where a document on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Baltic states and Hungary will be signed.

Also on Monday, the head of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel will received the Finnish Ambassador in Estonia Jouko Maurinkoshi and the Norwegian Ambassador Kel Golding.

The same day, the German Ambassador in Estonia Hening von Wistinghausen will hand his credentials to the head of the Estonian parliament.

A representative of the Czechoslovak Government is arriving in Estonia on Monday.

On Wednesday, the Canadian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Michael Wilson as well as secretary of the British Foreign Office Douglas Hogg and a delegation of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe are expected to visit Tallinn.

Japan To Recognize Baltics 'Very Soon'

LD0309201991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Japan will very soon adopt a resolution recognizing the independence of the three Baltic republics, Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, said at a news conference. However, he gave to understand that this will not happen before 10 September, when a government delegation returns to Tokyo. At the moment it is visting Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Nakayama also pointed out that Tokyo is also carefully monitoring the course of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Japan would like the USSR to recognize the Batlics' independence first, because, in contrast to the United States, for example, which has never recognized the annexation of the Baltics, Japan did so officially as early as 1940.

Slovenia Establishes Ties With Baltics

LD0309181491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Representatives of Slovenia and the Soviet Baltic Republic of Latvia have agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

The BALTFAX news agency revealed this in a report about the visit of Slovene [Foreign] Minister Dimitrij Rupel.

The Slovene foreign minister arrived in the capital of Latvia this morning, following last night's talks with representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry. [passage omitted]

Late last night he reached an agreement about the establishment of relations with Lithuania. This evening, he is due to reach a similar agreement with Estonia during his planned visit to Tallinn. Following his Baltic tour, Rupel is returning to Yugoslavia.

South Africa Recognizes Baltics' Independence

LD0109023791 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Maseru August 29 TASS—South Africa's government has recognised the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Johannesburg's BUSINESS DAY newspaper reports.

This statement was made by South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha late on Wednesday.

New Zealand Prime Minister Mulls Recognition

OW3108020991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the embassy of New Zealand in Moscow, on August 28 New Zealand's Prime Minister J.B. Bolger welcomed the decision of New Zealand's Council of Ministers to recognize the independence of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. However, an official announcement has not yet been made. "We will consider that issue at the appropriate time. Perhaps, we will charge one of our amabassadors to European countries with representing New Zealand in the Baltics," Mr. Bolger pointed out.

Estonia

Post-Independence Program Outlined

OW0309131491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Government of Estonia has adopted what is called "Program 3x3," prescribing measures that should be taken as a matter of priority during the first 3 weeks, 3 months and 3 years of independence.

Journalists were told in Tallinn on Monday that the Estonian Government intends to "use the situation" in making the pro- independence process irreversible. It will give particular attention to 7 main directions:

1) conclusion of temporary agreements with the USSR;

2) restoration of the full-fledged national economy;

3) strengthening of statehood, government structures, and defense;

4) talks over economic treaties with Eastern partners;

5) economic and political contacts with the West;

6) efficient economic management and acceleration of reform;

7) control over banks and finances.

During the first 3 weeks the government is planning to work out a strategy for the actual achievement of independence, conclusion of agreements with the USSR, etc.

In a 3-year perspective, the government hopes to pull the Estonian economy out of the crisis, stabilize society, and initiate the republic's integration into the European Community and the world economic system. Premier Edgar Savisaar is to present the "3x3" Program to the Estonian parliament today.

Trade Union Agreeement Reached With Russia

LD0209220391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 31 Sep 91

[Text] A first agreement based on parity between the two independent states of Estonia and Russia is a logical continuation to the state treaty concluded in January this year between the republic of Estonia and Russia. Today the agreement was signed by Siim Kallas, chairman of the Estonian Central Union of Trade Unions and (Igor Blochkov), chairman of the Russian Federation of Independent Trade Unions. The cooperation treaty foresees mutual information exchanges, economic cooperation, bilateral protection of the rights of any possible future subjects of workforce migration, and development of other trade union-related contacts. Siim Kallas rated particularly highly the agreement as a unique phenomenon between former USSR union republics which have started on a path of independence. (Igor Blochkov) for his part expressed conviction that the coup that began in 1917 has now reached its logical conclusion. (Blochkov) said that the two independent states will be linked through economic cooperation.

Agreement With Defense Ministry on Border Defense

LD0209193191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] According to the Russian Information Agency, an agreement has been reached between the government of the Estonian Republic and the USSR Ministry of Defense on the temporary establishment on the republic's western border of joint border control by the Estonian border service and the border troops of the USSR. Joint control of the checkpoint situated in Tallinn will begin from today. Subsequently, the border service of the Estonian Republic will undertake control of the land border, will carry out defense of border cordons and, after this, will also start controlling the maritime border. The agreement on this, the (Info-Nova) reports, was signed by the republic's Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and the commander of the Baltic Border District (Vasiliy Grakonenko).

Officers Asked To Join New Officers' Union

LD3108163691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] ETA has today been disseminating a message from the committee for founding the Estonian Officers Union to Estonian officers. It says the following: The time has come for the Republic of Estonia to again have its own defense forces. The committee for founding the Estonian Officers Union invites all Estonian officers in active service, in reserve, and those who have retired to approach immediately the state defense and border guard departments at district and town—or town rayon—governments, or the state defense and border guard department at the Chancellery of the Republic of Estonia. We need an overall view of those who wish to assist with activities in safeguarding the independence of the Republic of Estonia. On 8 September—starting from 0900—the founding congress of the Estonian Officers Union will take place. The exact venue will be announced in the mass media.

May the Estonian Officers Union become the foundation for reestablishing defense forces in the Republic of Estonia. We await all Estonian officers, regardless under which flag any of them has served. We need the knowledge and experience of all of you.

This was the message from the committee for founding the Estonian Officers Union to Estonian officers.

Deputy Fears Non-Recognition of Baltics

OW0309195691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Indrek Toome, a USSR people's deputy representing Estonia, told BF [BALTFAX] that the congress of USSR people's deputies is unlikely to recognize the independence of the Baltics. In his words, "the Baltic deputies will not even be pressing for that". Mr. Toome pointed out that the congress will try not to put the to the vote "dangerous questions" [as received], save for the proposals contained in the "10+1" statement. "Even the vote on these proposals may end up with a failure", he said after examining the correlation of forces at the congress.

In this connection, the Baltic deputies will not seek the adoption of a resolution recognizing the Baltic states' independence by the congress. Mr. Toome said that the drafting commission had prepared such a resolution, but the text of it has not been distributed among the deputies.

The Baltic deputies are now putting their hopes on a USSR president's decree recognizing the Baltics' independence. In a message to Mikhail Gorbachev Monday 36 Estonian deputies have urged him to issue such a decree.

As Juhan Aare, a deputy from Estonia, told BF, the Latvian deputies have also handed over a draft decree on the recognition of Latvia to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Prime Minister Heads for Talks in Moscow

OW0309190191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar of Estonia is coming to Moscow today. He will continue his negotiations with top-ranking officials of the Defence Ministry, the KGB and the Interior Ministry of the USSR. According to the press service of the Estonian Government, he is to discuss the status of Soviet Army units on Estonian territory, the withdrawal of KGB branches from Estonia and the transfer of the protection of the republic's borders to the jurisdiction of its own authorities.

The visit is to last until the end of the week. Savisaar will possibly meet the Russian premier, Ivan Silayev, as well.

Government Introduces Visa Procedure

OW0309131891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Mullerson told a briefing on Monday that the Estonian Government has introduced a temporary procedure for the granting of visas for entrance into the republic. Under it, visas of this kind may be granted by the Soviet Embassy, the Consular Department of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, and by specially authorized officials.

The visas of the Estonian Republic will be valid for entrance into, and travel in, Estonia. At present, they may be obtained at Tallinn's airport and seaport.

Defense Against 'Surprises' Emphasized

LD0309195991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Republic of Estonia Supreme Council gathered at noon today for its additional 47th session. [passage omitted] Prime minister Edgar Savisaar made a major speech on the short-term and long-term tasks to implement independence. And now we have [deputy] Heinz Valk before our microphones. [passage omitted]

[Valk] Mr. Prime Minister presented to the Supreme Council today a very thorough, a very comprehensive program which—one could even say—surprised the supreme council with its pithiness. It has been provisionally called "three by three", and what it contains are the most topical tasks facing the Estonian state. They must be implemented within the next three weeks, which means by the end of September; then a second stage—three months—which will take us to the end of the current year; and then the next three years, because it is clear that having achieved Estonia's independence as a state, Estonia's own statehood has not been consolidated to such a degree and is not so firmly fixed that we could just—with our hearts brimming with gratitude and full of happiness—sit around with ease thinking that things will now work on their own and that we have achieved what is most important for us. [passage omitted]

I would pluck out some individual thoughts from the prime minister's report. Well, during the first three weeks we have to consolidate—so to speak—insure that the Estonian state stays there. It is clear that the forces—political, economic as well as all kinds of other forces—who are not in the least interested that the Estonian state should continue are not asleep nor do they plan only to wave at us and throw flowers in our path. Instead, probably in the near future, after they have collected themselves somewhat and taken stock of their strength they may start what amounts to counteraction.

For this reason it is necessary for us to guarantee that we have control over our territory, which means a sharp intensification of control on the border. And the creation of Estonia's own defense forces is linked to this. Here the only path—so to speak—would be for us to appeal to volunteers during the first and the quickest stage, this means that the Estonian defense force and border service would consist of volunteers, consequently, of men, young men who have experience having served in the Soviet army and who are will to give up their present jobs temporarily. But this is something we definitely have to do and I hope that the Supreme Council will adopt a defense law during this week, according to which the Estonian defense force will be set up. And as the prime minister has assured us, there have been successful discussions with the Soviet armed forces and the new chief of the KGB, which give us hope. We have the opportunity of bringing back to Estonia both officers and young men serving in the Soviet army; we have the opportunity of obtaining our first arms from the Soviet forces stationed here in Estonia. Setting up our own defense police is also indivisibly linked to this. In a word, these are aspects that must protect us here on Estonian soil from possible surprises during the next few weeks.

Another urgent aim is to consolidate Estonia's own statehood internationally, so Estonia quickly becomes a member of several international and very important organizations; I mean the United Nations Organizations, the CSCE process here, but also an association like the Internaitonal Olympic Committee. Why is it necessary for us to get into the United Nations Organizations and the European security system quickly? Entry to both of these organizations will turn the issue of Estonia—and of the whole Baltics, naturally—into a completely international issue, separate from domestic USSR issues. And at the same time this will serve as a guarantee for us against any possible interference from behind Estonian borders.

Bakatin Signs Border Agreement With Republic

LD0409095391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Interview with Estonian Minister of State Rein Vare by correspondent Joan Raudsepp in Moscow—live]

[Excerpt] [Raudsepp] Mr Vare, minister of state: a fairly remarkable event took place already this morning. Namely, Mr. Savisaar [Estonian premier] met with Mr. Bakatin [head of KGB] and a very important document was signed.

[Vare] Indeed, a protocol was signed by both the chairman of the government and chairman of the KGB on regulating relations during a transitional stage in respect of liquidating KGB structures in the republic of Estonia. This liquidation will be prepared properly and the deadline set is very short: in principle, it will be within this month, say, by the 25th all preparatory work and all issues on the whole must be resolved. So this is an agreement signed at top level within the structure and I must say that it will be of great assistance to us when we come to resolve these issues.

In addition it was also agreed—at the moment preparations, so to speak, for this are taking place—that there will be another meeting this evening, and at 1900 a temporary agreement will be signed about the stay of USSR border guard forces in the Republic of Estonia and on the principles of how we will—at first together and then taking over gradually—we will guard the border; I mean the Western border here. Included in it are also the most important points connected with the recognition of our guarding of the eastern border and similar matters. [passage omitted]

Republic To Establish Defense Forces, Ministry

LD0309223991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 3 Aug 91

[By TASS crrespondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 3 Sep—The Supreme Soviet of Estonia adopted a decision today to set up defense forces. The manpower acquisition will be based on a "universal military service obligation". The Government of Estonia has been instructed to prepare, by 1 October, the draft documents for setting up a defense ministry, and to elaborate a draft law on a "universal military service obligation".

The Republican Supreme Soviet decision stresses that before Estonia's constitution comes into force, the general leadership of the defense forces will be vested in the defense council, which will include the chairman and the speaker of the Supreme Soviet, and also the head of government.

Gorbachev Meets With Republic Deputies

OW0309195991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 3, Mikhail Gorbachev had a brief meeting with Estonian Deputies Endel Lippmaa, Indrek Toome and Vaino Valjas in the course of which the president received a draft decree recognizing the Estonian Republic's independence.

According to Toome, Gorbachev said to the deputies that his report that he had not delivered at the congress contained the thesis that the Baltic nations that had been annexed by the USSR under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, had special status.

"Gorbachev must issue this kind of a decree following the end of the congress," said Toome. He also noted that the Soviet president "is not saying a word any more about the Baltic countries' staying on in the Union."

Environmental Protection Accord With Denmark

LD0209221191 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sidorov]

[Text] Copenhagen September 3 TASS—Denmark and Estonia signed an environmental protection treaty here on Monday.

Under the treaty, which was signed by the two countries' ministers for environmental issues Per Stig Moller and Tinis Kaazik, the sides commit to exchange information on ecological issues, share their know-how and maintain broad cooperation to solve problems in this area.

To coordinate the two countries' activity, it is planned to set up a special group, which will define the main areas of cooperation, in which Denmark could make the most effective contribution to solving Estonia's ecological problems.

It is envisaged that part of 500 million kroner, which are set aside by Denmark for environmental protection projects in east European countries, will be remitted to the Baltic republics, Ritzaus Bureau, the Danish news agency, reports.

Evaluating the importance of the treaty, Per Moller said it would help tackle acute ecological problems, strengthen ties between the two states and contribute towards Estonia's democratic development.

On Tuesday, the Danish minister will arrive in Lithuania and Latvia to sign similar treaties with these Baltic states.

Ruutel Receives Finnish Special Envoy

LD0309123191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Leivi Ser, press representative of the chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, reports that Supreme Council Chairman Arnold Ruutel received Ambassador Jaakko Kaurinkoski, special representative of the Republic of Finland Foreign Ministry, today. The reason for the meeting was the restoration of diplomatic relations between Estonia and Finland, ETA reports.

Arnold Ruutel emphasized that close links in science, culture, environmental protection, economy, and in several other spheres serve as a foundation for Estonian-Finnish relations. Now those links will simply have to be raised to state level. The restoration of diplomatic relations opens new possibilities for relations between Estonia and Finland.

Possibilities for [Estonia's] participation in the work of international organizations were discussed with the special envoy of the Finnish Foreign Ministry. Jaakko Kaurinkoski said Finland supports the Baltic states joining the United Nations, the EC, the Nordic Council, and other organizations.

Jaakko Kaurinkoski presented (Markkus Koivinen), temporary Finnish secretary in the Republic of Estonia, to Arnold Ruutel.

Relations Opened With France, Italy

OW0209012091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0001 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The French foreign minister Roland Dumas and Italy's deputy foreign minister Claudio Vitalone arrived in Tallinn at the weekend to sign protocols for establishing diplomatic relations with Estonia.

Baltfax news agency reports Germany, Finland and Norway are due to follow suit on Mondaym, with Germany opening its embassy in Tallinn then.

Diplomatic Relations With Italy Established

OW3108144891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1410 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister of Italy Claudio Vitalone and Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Italy and Estonia today in Tallinn.

Ruutel Receives Danish Ambassador

LD0309200391 Tallin Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] ETA reports that Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the republic of Estonia Supreme Council, today received ambassador (Otto Rose Borch), special envoy of the Danish Foreign Ministry. He handed over congratulations from the queen of Denmark, the government and the people on the occasion of the republic of Estonia's independence and restoration of diplomatic relations. According to Leivi Ser, press representative of the chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, Arnold Ruttel and (Otto Rose Borch) had a thorough discussion on expanding economic cooperation, in particular in the spheres of the use of wind energy, agricultural production and processing, and transport and communications. Much attention was paid to the participation of the Republic of Estopnia in the work of international organizations.

Arnold Ruutel sent an official invitation to the Danish foreign minister to visit Estonia in the near future. Notes were exchanged to confirm that diplomatic relations between the Republic of Estonia and the Kingdom of Denmark have been restored from 26 August. The document was signed by ambassador (Borch) and Rein Mullerson, deputy foreign minister of the Republic of Estonia.

United Nations Membership Discussed

LD0109030191 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloverian]

[Text] Tallinn August 31 TASS—Estonia intends to join the United Nations as a fully-fledged member, chairman of the Estonian parliament Arnold Ruutel told a news conference here late on Friday.

The news conference was devoted to the results of the French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas' visit to Tallinn. The French minister was in the Estonian capital in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and Estonia.

Addressing the news conference Dumas said France would support Estonia's request for membership in the United Nations. He also said questions relating the deployment of Soviet Armed Forces on Estonian Republic territory should be solved through negotiations between the leadership of Estonia and the Soviet Union.

Independence Recognized by Kyrgyzstan

LD0309165191 Tallin Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] A governmental telegram has arrived addressed to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, from Kyrgystan President Akayev. The telegram says that the extraordinary sixth session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Kyrgyzstan the recognized sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Estonia. The telegram wishes peace, happiness and prosperity to the hard-working Estonian people.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Jurkans on Baltic Issues

LD0309204391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0650 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Interview with Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans by Istvan Kulcsar; Jurkans speaks in English with superimposed Hungarian translation; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kulcsar] Mr. Minister, how do you explain the timing? Why are the countries of the world right now recognizing lativa and the other two Baltic republics, and not a year ago, or next week?

[Jurkans] [passage omitted] The process in the Soviet Union have been favorable for the Baltics. The democratization process which began with us gained strength has throughout the Soviet Union, and there has been a palpable strengthening of international solidarity, which together helped to accelerate progress—I include, here, the events in Hungary. This is how I explain our recogniion, which is a victory for democracy.

[Kulcsar] How do you view, in practice, the creation of independence? What I am thinking of is that Latvia is linked by very strong ties to the Soviet Union, including here, for example, the economic, financial, energetics, and transport system.

[Jurkans] You are right. We must overcome serious problems in connection with this. We must solve many problems in order for us to create our democratic state's own institutions. However, neither have we sat with our hands in our laps to date. We have made preparations, I could say we are ready; we have done our homework. However, in order to complete it entirely, we still need the support of the international community, so that this community should recognize us diplomatically. We also need to be recognized by the Soviet Union. Yeltsin already announced that Russia would recognize the independence of the Baltic states. Now, it is up to Gorbachev to do this. My conviction is that he will do

this sooner or later, probably this week. If we gain our full independence we shall have the opportunity and right to set up our own banking system, to create our market structure. We shall have everything a free state needs.

Often we are asked whether we shall be able to exist economically without the Soviet Union. The reply is "yes". In the past decades we did, indeed, depend on the Soviet Union, for example in energetics, but this was a mutual dependence. The other republics also depend on the products which we manufacture. For example, we deliver to them electric motors, electronic items, textile goods, foodstuffs, etc, etc. Thus, we have to reorganize our economy.

We have to develop, on the basis of equality, a partnership relationship with the other republics, we must engage in business with them on the basis of the same principles as those between the European states.

[Kulcsar] Yes, but how do you envisage the forms, frameworks, of this cooperation, Mr Minister? Are you thinking, for example, of a sort of commonwealth?

[Jurkans] First, I wish to clarify that the Baltic states that are restoring their independence must be handled on an entirely different basis from, for example, Georgia, the Ukraine, or Belorussia. We lost our independence before the war, and we are only restoring this now. Regarding the forms of our future cooperation with west and east, this depends on the interests of the Baltic peoples.

[Kulcsar] How does Mr. Minister view cooperation between Latvia and Yeltsin's Russia in the future?

[Jurkans] You know, in January we signed a treaty, which still has to be ratified by the Russian parliament. The first clause of this declares that it is the agreement of two sovereign states. And as I said, we wish to develop our future cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual advantages.

[Kulcsar] A considerable number of people of Russian nationality live in Latvia. Does not this cause problems for you?

[Jurkans] This, of itself, has never caused problems, at the most in the sense that the Latvian language and culture have been endangered. In our republic, the proportion of Latvians does not reach 50 percent, while in Riga, the capital, it does not constitute even 27 percent of the total population. However, our government has managed to convince the population that we shall guarantee the rights of all the national minorities living here. That is why we received three-quarters of the votes in last year's elections. And the public opinion polls of March this year show the same. Seventy- five per cent of the population, that is very many people of Russian and non-Latvian nationality, support us. Thus, if there are conflicts in our country, these differences are not between the people of different nationality, but they are, rather, between supporters of a democratic state and those of a roll-back. However, the latter have been defeated. We have abolished the communist party.

[Kulcsar] What does Mr. Minister expect from the Congress of People's Deputies which is now meeting in Moscow? Will it recognize the independence of the Baltic States?

[Jurkans] I believe it will, since Yeltsin has very great political influence, and he has already done this, recognized it. Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, and Kravchuk in the Ukraine have taken a similar position. Kravchuk declared on Monday that he envisaged the future Soviet Union as a confederation of sovereign states, but let us not forget that the core of the congress is made up of hard-line communists and they might try various tricks, indeed a political coup. However I doubt that they will be successful. However the possibility exists.

[Kulcsar] How do you view Gorbachev's role in the future?

[Jurkans] This role is dissipating gradually. Gorbachev may have a certain role until, let us say, the next elections, but he will scarcely survive those, politically.

[Kulcsar] Let us turn to Latvia's international situation. In the opinion of Mr. Minister, when will your country be admitted into the United Nations?

[Jurkans] I imagine that this might happen in September. This depends to a very great extent on the outcome of the current Congress of People's Deputies, and or course we count on the support of all our friends abroad. This pertains to Hungary, too. Your political and economic objectives are parallel to ours. Our task is to return to Europe, just as you wish to be integrated into Europe's political and economic structure.

Alongside this, we are endeavoring to learn from the Hungarians. You have already started to dismantle the system from which we too want to free ourselves. You have experience, for example, in the sphere of privatization, in the building of a market economy structure. We shall very willingly utilize the experience you have gained here, and if there has been mention of the common features, problems, we remember 1956 well. We know what it means to live under foreign oppression, under foreign rule.

[Kulcsar] You have mentioned the economic problems. According to certain opinions, many millions of dollars would be necessary, as foreign assistance, to set the Baltics on their feet. Do you agree with this?

[Jurkans] I understand that Europe wants peace and stability. This, however, can only be achieved if poverty is eliminated in Europe, not only in the Baltics but in all of the Soviet Union. I believe that West Europe will have to open its purse somewhat in order to bridge the enormous gaping abyss between West and East. And this affects not only us, but Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. This is in the interest of all of us, because as

long as there is poverty, there will also be a danger of political instability. West Europe, the EC, must think of this.

Yeltsin Reportedly Examines Union Property Issue

PM0309141591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[I. Litvinova report: "Boris Yeltsin in Latvia. First Embassy Opened in Riga"]

[Text] Riga—Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Latvia 29 August. His visit was not publicized and the press was informed that it was unofficial in character.

Journalists are pondering the reason for Yeltsin's sudden trip to Riga. So far everything is developing wholly propitiously in the two states' mutual relations. However, commentators note that the Russian leader could be uneasy about the mass expropriation of USSR property on Latvian territory, in which, of course, Russia has a significant stake.

After Latvia's 21 August declaration of independence, the mass expropriation of enterprises, infrastructure, ships, aircraft, and all other property previously belonging to the "neighboring state" began without any negotiation. Next in line are the banks, a resolution on whose expropriation has already been distributed to parliament deputies.

Following the closure by the Latvian Supreme Soviet of Soviet military registration and enlistment offices, their property also started being confiscated by the Latvian state. The latter acted in precisely the same manner with other USSR organizations—the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], the KGB, and so on. Observers suggest that the Soviet Army, shattered by recent events, will also hand over buildings belonging to the Defense Ministry (thus built out of Soviet citizens' money), as well as hardware and equipment, "without a fight." The operation to confiscate property is progressing so successfully that even supporters of Latvian culture have decided to join in the process. They have demanded that the All-Union Creative Center for Writers, Composers, and Artists in Jurmala be handed over to them.

A view does exist that there is no [need] to be hasty about expropriating party property because in time it can be handed over to the legal owner—those representatives of the Soviet people on Latvian territory who have not taken Latvian citizenship. For this section of the population, former CPSU property could become a guarantee of their ownership rights. Commentators believe that Yeltsin may also raise this question, because Latvian parliamentarians who met him in Moscow said that he expressed an interest in guaranteeing the rights of Russians following the Latvian declaration of independence.

Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, sent a message to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev 29 August asking him to recognize the independence of the Latvian Republic. In his view, this would further the development of good-neighborly relations between the two states.

The process of acquiring independence is not merely advancing, it is literally sprinting. Several dozen states have already declared their recognition of the new state. The first embassy—the Swedish Embassy—opened 29 August. The Latvian Foreign Ministry has started to issue its own entry visas. Deputy Foreign Minister S. Kalniyete [as transliterated] said that for now travel to Latvia from Russia will be unrestricted, but in time this procedure will be defined by the Interior Ministry and the border services.

Concern has abated in the republic over the economic situation. There is confidence in Latvia that it will continue to be possible to obtain cheap raw materials from Russia and other former Union republics. Some will be required locally, and some could go for export. As Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans told us, the West will help Latvia with credits and free aid. Gold belonging to Latvia that has been kept in a French bank will also be returned.

Gorbunovs on Yeltsin's Visit

LD0309151891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 3 Sep (TASS)—Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin considers that relations between the Baltic republics and Russia, and also relations with the Union, must now be built on a law governed interstate basis, stated Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council today at a plenary session of the parliament.

Boris Yeltsin was in the republic as a guest. "So during his visit no final or specific decisions were made," stressed the head of the parliament.

Turning to deputies, Anatolijs Gorbunovs again noted the consistent attitude of Boris Yeltsin in resolving issues concerning the Baltic republics and the recognition of their state independence. According to him, the RSFSR president is convinced that his actions are right, although they do not coincide with the opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Anatolijs Gorbunovs explained that detailed information on Boris Yeltsin's visit had not been reported previously in the "interests of security."

Foreign Minister on Independence, Minorities

AU0309143291 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Armin Wolf report on visit by Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans to Vienna on 3 September; recorded statements by Jurkans in English with superimposed German translation in quotation marks]

[Text] Latvia's Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans does not know exactly how many states have already recognized his country's independence. About 40, he says, but their number is steadily increasing. He expects the Soviet Union to recognize Latvia today or tomorrow. How does Jurkans see future relations between the independent Baltic states and the Soviet Union?

"My guess is that the Soviet Union will develop into a kind of loose confederation, a confederation of democratic and independent states. Of course, we are interested only in good-neighborly relations with the democratic states at our eastern border."

However, it is out of the question for the Baltic states to join such a confederation, Jurkans says.

"Never." Never, is the clear and brief answer.

Nor do the Baltic states want to be members of an economic union with a future USSR. There are still thousands of Soviet soldiers in the Baltic states—there are about 500,000 in all three Baltic states together, Jurkans estimates. He does not know how many of them are stationed in Latvia. Honestly, he says, I have no idea. There have never been any figures published on that. There is not yet a schedule for the withdrawal of the Soviet Army. Jurkans hopes that they will leave as quickly as possible.

Finally, there is the problem of minorities. There are high percentages of Russians in all three Baltic states. In Latvia itself one can hardly call them a minority, since the Russians amount to almost 50 percent of the 2.6 million inhabitants. The Russian-speaking population will have exactly the same rights as the Latvians, Jurkans repeatedly stresses. They will not be discriminated against in any way; that is, full citizenship for the more than 1.2 million Russians, equal job opportunities, and also the possibility to use their language in dealings with official authorities.

However, Latvian will be the state's official language—a language that most Russians have never learned, even if they have lived in Latvia for decades.

Foreign Minister Jurkans says:

"If a Russian wants to be a lawyer or a doctor, he will have to know both Russian and Latvian to meet the needs of the population. However, the same also goes for a Latvian who wants to be a postman. He also must know both languages."

The Latvian foreign minister does not understand that many Russians are somehow afraid to live in an independent Baltic state. These are only those who do not want to live in a democratic state and who are longing for the old system to return, he says. He stresses once again the complete equality of all ethnic groups in independent Latvia.

One comment on the economy. Latvia wants to introduce a free market economy as quickly as possible and to join the EC. Accession to NATO, on the other hand, is not an issue for discussion, Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans says.

Communist Newspapers, Organizations Banned

OW0309200491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Justice Minister Viktors Skudra told the newspaper "Diena" that a Latvian court had banned the radio broadcasting station "Sodruzhestvo" considered in the republic a mouthpiece of the Latvian Communist Party. The newspaper "Sovetskaya Latvia", "Utro Yurmaly" ("Yurmala morning") and "Yedinstvo" ("Unity") have also been banned. The newspapers "Cinia" ("Struggle") and "Riga News" suspended their activities. The journalists who have worked for these newspapers will be entitled to organize new mass media under new names and to register them at the Justice Ministry. Under a resolution of the Latvian Supreme Council suspending activities of the Latvian Communist Party, the Justice Ministry suspended activites of some communist local newspapers.

The Latvian Justice Minister also said that currently assets of public organizations activites of which were suspended by the Supreme Council are being inventoried. Among them the Union of Labor Collectives, the International Workers' Front, the Young Communist League, the Council of War and Labor Veterans, etc.

Norway Offers To Defend Republic's UN Interests

OW0309133491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Valdis Steins, leader of the Conservative Party of Free Latvian Citizens, told BF [BALTFAX] that Norway is ready to defend Latvia's interest in the United Nations, and that Norwegian entrepreneurs are interested in establishing business contacts with his republic. A party delegation with V. Steins at its head is just back from an official visit to Norway.

During the delegation's talks with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Norwegian parliament the parties discussed ways of promoting interparliamentary ties between the two countries. A group of Norwegian

experts will arrive in Latvia later this month to study the problem of demilitarization.

Diplomatic Relations With Canada Restored

OW0309171091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Latvian parliament, Anatolijs Gorbunovs has met with the Canadian government spokesman Michael Wilson to sign an agreement on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Canada and Latvia.

Slovenia To Establish Diplomatic Relations

OW0309201891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A governmental delegation from Slovenia led by Foreign Minister Rupel arrived in Riga earlier today. Members of the delegation have met with first deputy Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Dainis Ivans and handed over a document on the recognition of Latvia's independence by Slovenia to him. The two sides have also signed a protocol on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Slovenia and Latvia. The Slovenian guests invited a Latvian parliamentary delegation to visit Slovenia.

Mr. Ivans told BF [BALTFAX] that the meeting had also focused on economic matters, in particular, the problem of privatization. The Slovenian representatives expressed readiness to develop economic cooperation.

UN Membership Officially Requested

OW0409014791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 30, first deputy head of Latvia's Supreme Council, Mr. Dainis Ivans, sent the UN Secretary-General Mr. Perez de Cuellar a message requesting UN membership for the Latvian Republic. The message expressed the hope that Latvia's delegation would be admitted to the next session of the UN General Assembly.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Comments on Foreign Policy

LD0409043391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2007 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius, 3 Sep (TASS)—"The Lithuanian Republic and Hungary will expand cooperation and bilateral mutual assistance," declared Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, at a news conference held here this evening following his return from Hungary. According to the head of the Lithuanian parliament, Hungary assured him that it "will give Lithuania all help and support in international organizations".

However, local and foreign journalists gathered for the news conference were, to judge from the questions asked, more interested in the problems of Lithuania's relations with other states and with Europe as a whole. Replying to a question about what help the Lithuanian leadership was mainly counting on, Vytautas Landsbergis said: "We wish to take part in European organizations." After that, he expressed the wish that Europe would help Lithuania "in resolving the primary and basic question of consolidating independence—the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Lithuania". He added that in this matter he counts also on "the assistance of the United States of America."

In response to a question from journalists about what might be expected from the arrival in Vilnius, scheduled for tomorrow, of Great Britain's deputy foreign minister, Vytautas Landsbergis said that diplomatic relations between the two states would be restored. In addition, the head of parliament voiced the hope that Great Britain would adopt concrete measures to reimburse the value of the gold belonging to Lithuania that was kept in Britain.

At the end of the news conference, Vytautas Landsbergis stated that Lithuania did not intend to take part in a political or economic union that the republics of the Soviet Union might conclude. But, at the same time, he maintained that Lithuania "wishes and will seek to preserve bilateral relations, above all with Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union". "If these republics," Landsbergis added, "create some union or agreement of the nine or ten and establish a body or structure that represents them, we may hold talks with them on a bilateral basis."

Residents Polled on Coup Attempt

OW3108014391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the newspaper "LIETUVOS RITAS," during the August 19-21 coup attempt the Vilnius University's sociology laboratory took an opinion poll among 971 residents of Lithuania.

The poll found that 6% of respondents had supported the coup while 92% had opposed it.

90% would like to see Lithuania an independent state. 7% want Lithuania to be a sovereign republic making part of a renewed Union. 2% favor Lithuania as part of the unique Soviet Union.

80% trust the Lithuanian Supreme Council and 78% trust the Lithuanian government.

4% supported Yanayev during the coup.

38%—Gorbachev (21% in July).

85%—Yeltsin (74% in July).

85% trusted Landsbergis during the coup.

The newspaper has also published the results of two surveys more. One was taken from July 12 to 21 and the other—from July 31 through August 3. During the polls 1,OOO respondents distinguished [passage as received] several political leaders who had done much for the benefit of Lithuania:

Landsbergis is the most popular leader. He gathered 569 votes.

Brazauskas, leader of the Democratic Party of Labor, MP,—371.

Vagnorius, Prime Minister—300.

Prunskiene, MP, former Prime Minister—250.

Motieka, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council—223.

Antanavicius, MP, member of the Social Democratic Party—197.

Bickauskas, Lithuania's permanent representative in Moscow—140.

Vaisvila, Vice-Premier—121.

Vilkas, leader of the liberal faction in parliament. [no figure given]

Ozolas, MP—115.

Whom do the respondents trust most?

Lithuania's mass media—75%.

Church—73%.

Supreme Council—61%.

Government—61%.

Soviet mass media—9%.

Soviet Army—7%.

Soviet leadership—7%.

OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]—3%.

OMON Personnel Leave Before Disbandment Order

PM0309102691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich report from Vilnius under the "Direct Line" rubric: "OMON Withdrawn From Lithuania"]

[Text] A substantial part of the Vilnius OMON [special purpose militia detachment]—47 men—has left Lithuanian territory.

More than 30 OMON men decided to remain in Vilnius. The fate and whereabouts of the others are as yet unknown. It is believed that they left the Severnyy camp (where a number of military units are stationed and where the OMON took refuge after the coup) even before the order on disarming, disbanding, and relocating the detachment. According to reports received by the parliament's press service, on the night of Friday-Saturday the OMON held a farewell "firework display" at Severnyy camp, waking residents in a nearby housing block. Shots and automatic fire rang out on the camp's territory and explosions were heard. "The OMON lost its nerve," the military people reported.

As was noted at a news conference, the Lithuanian leadership was not notified beforehand of the disbandment of this armed subunit. Basically the OMON was given an opportunity to "flee" Lithuania, which, in the opinion of the republic's official authorities, is contrary to agreements reached earlier. Let me remind you that those OMON men who played an active part in armed actions (attacks on customs posts and border control points, the seizure of buildings in Vilnius, and so forth) were under threat from an article of the Lithuanian Republic's Criminal Code.

However events may develop next, it is clear that the OMON was only carrying out the will of the former USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] leadership. Now it is possible that they will want to make scapegoats of the former loyal fighters of the militia special forces. There is another possibility too: that they will hide the real initiates as far away as possible, to stop them speaking out of turn...

Communist Party Appeals Ban on Activity

LD0109095191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, Aug 30 (TASS)—Appeals by the leadership of the Communist Party of Lithuania to the people of the republic are being illegally disseminated in Vilnius, saying that "the communists of Lithuania are not involved in the activities of the plotters" and "the Communist Party of Lithuania has struggled and still

struggles for social justice, democracy, and the attainment of social progress in Lithuania, only by political methods."

As is known, after the attempted coup in the USSR, by law and by decree the property of the Communist Party of Lithuania passed into the ownership of the Lithuanian republic, the activity of this party, as part of the single CPSU, was banned, and its leaders were declared "dangerous state criminals" for their involvement in the January events and the putsch.

A statement by Mikolas Burokyavichus, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, addressed to Vytautis Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Arturas Paulauskas, general procurator of the republic, has been disseminated among the inhabitants of the town. Considering as illegal the ban on the activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania by the Supreme Soviet, he asks for the party to be registered "in accordance with the laws existing in the republic."

Official Interviewed on USSR Ties

LD0309140191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 3 Sep [TASS]—"I call upon the Soviet Union to establish diplomatic relations with the Lithuanian republic as soon as possible," deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Cheslovas Stankyavichyus has said. He agreed this morning to answer a few questions from a TASS correspondent on the telephone.

The deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian republic said that "Lithuania intends to maintain friendly relations and mutually beneficial economic and commercial cooperation with the states which formerly made up the Soviet Union."

To the correspondent's question on what logical actions could primarily follow in the event of recognition of Lithuan independence by the leadership of the Soviet Union, and whether one should expect a transitional period to follow this, Cheslovas Stankyavichyus replied unambiguously and resolutely: "There can be no question of any transitional or similar period." He went on to remark that the most immediate and most important task is "To solve without delay the questions of beginning the withdrawal of the USSR armed forces from the territory of the Lithuanian republic." "The Lithuanian state is capable of guarding and controlling its state borders and providing security and fullness of power," Cheslovas Stankyavichyus said in conclusion.

Appeal Issued to Moscow-Controlled Enterprises

OW0309184591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1530 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Government of Lithuania has appealed to the staffs of Moscow-controlled enterprises on Lithuanian territory to continue their work. The head of the Lithuanian parliament's information service, Ms. Rita Dapkus, says the appeal follows refusal by some staff members to report to work in protest against the transfer of their enterprises to Lithuania's jurisdiction.

Soviet Troops Return Seized Property

LD0209232291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Summary] On 8 August, commanders of the military unit stationed in Vilnius returned part of the seized fire protection equipment belonging to the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The equipment was returned in poor and inoperable condition. "On the 29 August, Kraujalis, director of the Fire Protection Department, reported that after the changes in the leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry, that ministry was asked to return the above equipment. Troops from the village of Northern returned all the rest of the seized equipment. This time they took the initiative themselves and the damaged or missing parts were replaced by some other very useful special equipment and sets of spare parts.

"This example clearly indicates that the intensive work negotiating with high-ranking Soviet military officials is yielding positive results."

Border To Be Transferred to Republic

OW0309211491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday Virginijus Censuliavicius, Chief of the Border Protection Service of the Lithuanian Home Defense Department, is to meet with Vitaliy Ogorodnikov, commander of the Vilnius check-point belonging to the USSR Border Protection Service. They are expected to discuss the transfer of the Soviet state border under the republican control.

A commission of the USSR Defense Ministry authorized to negotiate the status of the Soviet Army in Lithuania is expected to arrive in Vilnius soon.

Parliament Scheduled To Meet 4 Sep

OW0309203091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, has instructed the latter to meet tomorrow for an extraordinary session. The deputies were to be on holiday until September 10, after the previous extraordinary session held during the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union and finished afer the failure of the coup, but Landsbergis has decided that they should meet a week earlier.

Our correspondent has been informed in the Lithuanian Supreme Council that the session will listen to Landsbergis' report on the political situation and discuss the drafts of two documents: declaration on relations with the independent Republic of Moldova and a decision on powers to be granted to the preparatory commission for Lithuania's negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Prime Minister Meets Japanese Diplomats

LD0409041691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Today Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius received a group of Japanese diplomats led by the ambassador plenipotentiary, [name indistinct]. The head of the delegation informed the prime minister about his government's readiness to deal immediately with formalities on the restoration of diplomatic relations betwen Lithuania and Japan. He wanted to clarify the present internal situation in Lithuania and establish what stand it intends to take in international relations.

Replying to the questions of the guests, Vagnorius described how far Lithuania has advanced in economic reform and noted that property held in the Soviet Union's ownership has been taken over, customs offices are being controlled, Lithuania's own tax system is in operation, and privatization of the state property is starting. This is creating conditions for beginning businesslike cooperation with foreign banks and businessmen.

After thanking him for the reception, the Japanese ambassador said that he will inform his government about positive changes in Lithuania. The ambassador expressed his hope that after the restoration of diplomatic relations, a period of fruitful cooperation will begin.

Official on Border Situation, Visas

LD3008125491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Today's briefing at the Supreme Council was attended by Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas. [passage omitted]

Mr. Saudargas noted that Lithuania is in full control of its borders, although the state border with Poland so far is being guarded by Soviet border guards along with the Lithuanians. Until a separate agreement is reached, Soviet visas are temporarily valid for persons going abroad. But after the passes are changed, only Lithuanian visas will be valid.

Legal Cooperation Agreement Signed With Latvia

LD0209190191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The first agreement has been signed by the republics of Latvia and Lithuania as independent states. This is a treaty on legal cooperation and mutual assistance, which was signed yesterday by the general procurators of both countries, Janis Skrastins and Arturas Paulauskas.

All the crime committed on the territory of Lithuania and Latvia in connection with the state coup will be investigated by the courts of law of the republics, regardless of who committed the offense.

Because it is evident that the actions of the Vilnius and Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachment] attacking the customs houses in Lithuania and Latvia were coordinated, and on the eve of the coup they coordinated their actions with the communist parties of the republics. Latvian and Lithuanian interrogation organs will exchange information on this.

The heads of both procurators' offices would also like to sign a similar agreement with the Procuracy of the Soviet Union.

Swedish Minister Presents Draft Cooperation Plan

LD3108182591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, received Swedish Minister of International Cooperation and [word indistinct] Lena Hjelm-Wallen and persons accompanying her today. The minister presented the Swedish ambassador in Lithuania, Lars Magnusson. The guest disclosed that a committee has been set up in Sweden which has drawn up a draft plan for that country's cooperation with the Baltic states and handed it to Vytautas Landsbergis.

The parliament chairman stressed the importance of developing of cooperation between the Scandinavian and Baltic regions.

Switzerland Moves To Restore Diplomatic Ties

LD0109100491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The minister of the Swiss Embassy and acting charge d'affaires has phoned the permanent representative of the Lithuanian government in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, and announced that the Swiss Confederation has decided to fully restore diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania. He also announced that the foreign ministers of the Baltic states are invited to the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of the Swiss Confederation in September. An official Swiss delegation would like to come to Lithuania in the same month.

Italy Recognizes Independence Declaration

LD0109100791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Algirdas Saudargas and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Italy Claudius Vitaloni signed a declaration today on the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Italy.

The act of signing the declaration took place in the Supreme Council. Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, having thanked Italy for this step, expressed his hope that the stand of that country toward Lithuania will be active, and that it will support Lithuania's aspirations to return to the community of world nations.

Kozyrev Comments on Yeltsin, Major Meeting

PM0309132191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 1

[Commentary by Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister: "All Flags Are Guests"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Last Sunday the official meeting took place between RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin and British Prime Minister John Major. RSFSR Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev comments on the meeting.

The talks between Yeltsin and Major focused mainly on the situation in the country. The main thesis was that essentially, the Russians during the putsch voted a second time for reforms and for democracy. Thus future changes already enjoy greater support among the people than ever before. It is very important now, however, that we should be supported by the developed capitalist countries, so in this talk Boris Nikolayevich emphasized the need for specific joint plans to revive our economy. For his part Major gave assurances that the "big seven" is ready to help.

The prime minister guaranteed primarily humanitarian aid and suggested preparing a big program of joint actions. He said that first, however, he awaits our proposals and our economic program. It was stated that we are working on it and that it will be based on what was elaborated in our country in the fall. It is important to determine how far it can be a program for other republics.

Personally, such a positive mood on Major's part cannot fail to gratify me. It is important that this is the start of a fundamentally new world process when not a single important event can take place without Russia's participation. The West is beginning to realize who is the real motivating force in reforms in our country, and therefore, at the meeting it was not hard to agree on continuing direct contacts. There will be many of them now. The leaders of many countries are sending invitations to Boris Yeltsin and more and more of them are coming in—it is merely a question of how, without detriment to our work here in Russia, to select the most constructive proposals and build a line, a scheme of new mutual relations with the world.

Foreign Minister Kozyrev on Ties With Hungary

LD0109083191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Hungarian 2000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Report on interview with Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, by Sergey Shevitin in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, paid an official visit to Hungary on 27-28 August. In Budapest he held talks with his Hungarian counterpart and met the premier and the minister of foreign economic relations. He gave an interview to Sergey Shevitin, our Budapest correspondent. As the quality of the telephone interview does not allow a live broadcast, we now are going to outline Kozyrev's interview.

[Shevitin] In the opinion of the Russian foreign minister, on what principles will Soviet-Hungarian relations be built?

[Kozyrev] In the circle of the Soviet leadership circles there is a wrong idea; that is, that the democratic revolution which took place in the East European countries means the ideological defeat of the Soviet Union, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, answers. In other words, our true allies, our friends, have become suspicious. This was reflected in our demand, too, that a clause stating that the East European countries cannot join any alliance opposed to the Soviet Union be included in the agreements to be made. And here the question arose immediately: What do we mean by alliances opposed to the Soviet Union? For instance, I do not regard NATO as an adversary organization. NATO was formed during the confrontation period. Today, however, it can be regarded as an element of stability, of the co-operation of the Western states.

We consider the East European countries to be our natural allies. In the course of our talks with my Hungarian colleague, we discussed a number of issues. I have learned that no problems of this kind exist between us. Our aim is not to give an ideological account, but to overcome the heritage of the nightmarish totalitarian system.

In the course of the talks with the Hungarian minister, we spoke about the necessity of establishing a trading society for the organization of Russian-Hungarian trade. We have plenty of enterprises concerned in mutual trade. The barter trade that has been promised, of course, seems a nonsense today, but if we create a chain of concerned enterprises then we shall see that everyone will make some use of that.

[Shevitin] What are your plans for the development of diplomatic relations between Russia and Hungary?

[Kozyrev] You probably remember the well-known joke from some time ago: Why do we have only one party? The answer: The people cannot keep two parties. The situation is the same here. It would be a luxury to maintain embassies for various republics. I think, however, that there is no need for this, either. The employees of the Soviet embassies are well-trained, patriotic people with generally democratic feelings. This is particularly the case among the medium and low-level diplomatic staff. This force should serve those republics that will join the renewed union. For this, the technical base exists. This will not be the USSR Embassy, but simply of the union of the republics. This is how it must be. And the republics could have direct representatives in the countries important for them. This should work not on the basis of mutual exclusion, however, but in a parallel

fashion. In conclusion, I should like to note that the "ideologized" relations between our countries should be replaced by relations based on the ideology of democratic values.

Discusses New Union Treaty

LD0309113591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet federal parliament is expected to discuss the draft Union treaty today. Listen to an excerpt from an interview which Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev gave on this topic to Hungarian radio when he visited Budapest a few days ago:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Now let us talk about the new Soviet Union treaty, more precisely about the draft which originally should have been signed on 20 August, the second day of the coup, by the first six republics. On the first day of the Supreme Soviet's extraordinary session, it was said that the best solution would be a very loose, voluntary treaty.

[Andrey Kozyrev, in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] The Union treaty can only be voluntary, and it can be signed only by the legally elected leaders of sovereign republics. Even now, we support the signing of such a treaty, and this was true before the coup. We would like as many republics as possible to enter the new Union. We think that there is, indeed, a need for the center, as a coordinator, but it would be damaging for the center to gain power, for it to give out commands to the republics. [end recording]

Andrey Kozyrev, by the way, again confirmed that although there are nuclear weapons on the territory of the member republics, these can remain only in the ownership of the federal state, even if the Soviet Union of the future is much smaller than now.

Paris Mayor Meets Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, Sobchak

LD0309184591 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Rostislav Gertsev]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Visiting Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac met Russian President Boris Yeltsin, former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak here today.

Chirac, the leader of the union in support of the republic, arrived in Moscow on Monday on a mission of solidarity of the French opposition forces with democratic forces in the USSR.

On Wednesday, Chirac is expected to meet Moscow's Mayor Gavriil Popov and attend the session of the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies.

Meeting Includes Kozyrev

LD0309152191 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 3 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today met visiting Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac.

They are expected to discuss the situation in the Soviet Union after the failed coup attempt and issues of mutual interest.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and other officials are taking part in the meeting.

Calls Yeltsin 'Relatively Optimistic'

LD0309181291 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1700 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpt] There was three-star political tourism in Moscow for the new gang of four—Chirac, Leotard, Mehaignerie, and Juppe—who were received today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and by former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In Moscow is Nicolas Poincarre:

[Poincarre] The French opposition was engaged in a race against the clock in Moscow today: On the program were a few purchases made very quickly this morning on the Moscow street for pedestrians, the Arbat, followed by meetings at a running pace with Eduard Shevardnadze, Leningrad Mayor Sobchak, and Boris Yeltsin. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed his anxiety. According to the former foreign minister, a new putsch remains a possibility.

Boris Yeltsin received the representatives of the opposition at the Kremlin, taking advantage of a pause between meetings of the Congress. Jacques Chirac found him rather optimistic:

[Begin Chirac recording] We were received by Mr. Yeltsin and held a very interesting conversation. First, he informed us about the political situation, as he currently sees it. We found a man who was at the same time impassioned, convinced, and I would say relatively optimistic, as far as one can be in the difficult situation he faces. On behalf of the French democratic forces we represent, we also wanted to voice our support for the fight he is waging for democracy. I think he was sensitive to that support. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Filatov, Ambartsumov Head Delegation to U.S.

LD0409043291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington, 3 Sep (TASS)—Sergey Filatov, secretary of the presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated

Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, and Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, deputy chairman of the Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in the U.S. capital today. Together with Nina Polikarpova, chief expert in the department of interparliamentary ties of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, who is accompanying them, they will take part in a number of discussions in the U.S. and Canada devoted to methods of state management and the organization and adoption of decisions at parliamentary level.

The trip to the United States by the representatives of Russia's legislature is organized by influential "think tank centers" in the United States, including the Atlantic Council and the Brookings Institute, which recently marked its 75th anniversary. Under the aegis of these scholarly establishments, widely known in the United States, S. Filatov and Y. Ambartsumov will take part in completing a joint Soviet-American project named "perestroyka and federalism." These RSFSR politicians, the first to arrive in the United States since the attempted coup in the USSR will also hold a series of meetings with official U.S. representatives and leaders of the American public on questions connected with the internal political situation in the USSR and the Russian Federation, and the expansion of economic, cultural, and other ties between the United States and the RSFSR.

Poland's Deputy Prime Minister Meets Leaders

Signs Economic Agreement

LD0409022991 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 3—Poland and Russia signed an economic agreement on Tuesday which may open the road to rebuilding their economic relations.

The document, which crowns Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz's visit to Moscow, is the first bilateral economic agreement between Poland and a country lying on the territory of the Soviet Union. It is a many-year declaration of intentions offering a framework for rebuilding economic ties and it envisages that Poland and Russia would grant each other the most favoured nation clause in trade. It also regulates the settlement of accounts in trade exchange, envisaging hard currency deals, clearings, settlements in national currencies and other forms.

Similar agreements are to be signed shortly with other republics—with Latvia and Estonia, this month.

Prior to his meeting with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, Deputy Premier Balcerowicz accompanied by Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dariusz Ledworowski, conferred on Tuesday with Russian Finance Minister Yevgeniy Lazarev and Foreign Trade Minister Viktor Yaroshenko. The meeting was a follow-up to the talks held by Polish officials Monday with Premier Ivan Silayev and Deputy Premier Grigoriy Yavlinskiy.

It was agreed that the decisions reached during the present talks would be worked out in detail by teams of experts who should complete their task during the next two weeks.

Balcerowicz said during a press conference held in the Polish Embassy on Tuesday that the work of experts should result in the growth of trade exchange and in particular of the Polish export.

"Much attention was devoted during the talks to the Polish experiences in transforming the economy. The hosts took special interest in our experience in stabilizing and privatizing the economy," Balcerowicz stated.

The Polish vice premier paid Tuesday morning homage to the heroic defenders of the Russian parliament killed on the night of August 20, laying flowers in the place of tragic events.

Leszek Balcerowicz will stay a day longer in Moscow than was planned earlier to continue his talks, the Polish Government spokesman said Tuesday night. The programme of the visit had to be adjusted to the numerous changes that have taken place at various official posts in Moscow, the Government's Press Office explained.

Extends Visit at Silayev's Request

LD0409091691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0500 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz is continuing his visit to the Soviet Union. He had planned to return to Warsaw yesterday to participate in the evening session of the meeting of the government. He decided, however, to extend his stay in Moscow. Why? Here is our correspondent, Marek Kassa.

[Begin Kassa recording] It happened at the behest of Ivan Silayev, acting prime minister of the Soviet Union and the prime minister of Russia, who yesterday presented at the Congress of People's Deputies the guidelines for the creation of an economic union of Soviet republics. He detailed formulas in which Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, who spoke with him a day earlier, might be interested in having Poland participate in this economic union. At his news conference, our deputy prime minister, unaware of this statement, said he was indeed interested in the union because just how the Soviet economy—with which we will, after all, be cooperating—will look has great significance for us. The matter acquired a certain notoriety, and the hosts of the visit felt confounded. For this reason Ivan Silayev invited Leszek Balcerowicz to his office yesterday evening and in the presence of journalists expressed regret that his words had been perceived to mean that Poland would again find itself in the orbit of the Soviet Union. He said that in trying to clarify to the deputies that the union will be something completely different than the Soviet Union, that it will serve completely

different aims, he used formulas that were inaccurate; it left an impression of not having any relevance to his intentions.

He took the opportunity to once again express thanks for the invitation from Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to visit to Poland. This unplanned meeting of both prime ministers with journalists took place so late that Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz postponed his return to Poland until today.

One more remark about this visit: As was initially expected, it was to have brought an improvement in mutual relations. The tangle of various events meant, however, that it has brought significantly greater results, from such concrete steps as the signing of a treaty with Russia, or initial agreements relating to the revival of trade, to the declaration by Boris Yeltsin, who said yesterday that he will personally be seeking the reconstruction of economic contacts between our states.

Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD0309161191 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] A moment ago, Dariusz Ledworowski, minister for foreign economic cooperation, and Viktor Yaroshenko, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] minister for foreign economic relations, signed an outline agreement on cooperation between our countries. The agreement, which includes the mutual application of the most favored nation clause, is very important for us, since 80% of our trade exchange with the former Soviet Union is with Russia. Work on the conclusion of similar agreements with other republics is very far advanced, and we can expect them to be signed soon. This was discussed, inter alia, with Lithuanian representatives today. The creation of a joint Polish-Russian bank to support trade between our states was also agreed on today.

During a break in the meeting of the Extraordinary Congress of Peoples' Deputies, Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz met Boris Yeltsin, to whom he handed a letter from Lech Walesa concerning the interstate treaty between Poland and Russia, and an invitation to visit Poland. Boris Yeltsin accepted the invitation with satisfaction and expressed thanks for the support he received from Poland in his moments of difficulty during the putsch. Before noon, Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz laid flowers at the spot where defenders of the Russian parliament perished during the putsch. In a moment he will meet journalists at a news conference.

Comments on Talks With Yeltsin

LD0309213491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2040 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Good evening. The meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin was the main event in the second day of Leszek Balcerowicz's visit to Moscow. The deputy prime minister took part in unscheduled meetings and consultations until late evening.

[Begin recording] [Balcerowicz] On behalf of the president, the government, and, I think, all of Polish society, I conveyed words of great respect and admiration for, and recognition of President Yeltsin and his forces that foiled the attempt to turn back the pages of history, an event that occurred here two weeks ago. We know that this has a significance that extends far beyond this country; it is also of great significance for Poland.

I paid great attention today to economic matters. I said that Poland wanted to have good economic relations; it wanted to open up not just to the West, but to the East, too. We attach great importance to reversing the very dramatic trend which occurred this year; namely, the sudden collapse of exports to the Eastern market, including in particular to the Russian market; and this entire visit, in fact, was to a considerable extent devoted to ways of looking for solutions.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is your assessment of the attitude of the people, who are now running this country—for you talked to Prime Minister Silayev—and, in line with this, how do you assess the prospects for overcoming the crisis in the immediate future?

[Balcerowicz] At the moment, crucial, epoch-making things are happening here. The form of the political and economic organism—still vague at the moment—is taking shape. One has to realize that these people are occupied primarily with what shape, what organism will be created in this great country. Our problems, which undoubtedly are very important to us, must be seen against this background.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, the situation is indeed very uncertain here; but on the other hand, there is a theory and there are examples that it is easiest to derive advantages from this very kind of uncertainty. The first man in will have (?the best chance). Can we count [words indistinct].

[Balcerowicz] I think it is very significant that we were first here at this level from among the central European countries. [end recording]

Russia To Establish Diplomatic Ties With ROK

PM0409101391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Will Establish Diplomatic Relations With South Korea"]

[Text] Russia will establish diplomatic relations with the ROK, but it will not have its own embassy in that country. The newspaper CHUNGANG ILBO reports that this was stated by Georgiy Kunadze, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy foreign minister, in an interview published in today's paper. He

noted that Russia's interests in South Korea will be represented by a Russian diplomat who will work at the USSR Embassy in Seoul.

Immediately after the failure of the attempted coup in the USSR, No Tae-u sent a personal message to Boris Yeltsin congratulating him on "saving the great Soviet Union and Russian Federation from the terrible challenge issued by the anticonstitutional forces" and inviting him to visit South Korea in the very near future.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Domestic, Foreign Issues

LD0309234791 Moscow TASS in English 2326 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Sitov]

[Text] New York September 3 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday gave an interview to the U.S. Cable News Network.

The interview, in which Yeltsin touched upon a wide range of domestic and international issues, was broadcast live from the Russian government building in Moscow.

Commenting on his relationships with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Yeltsin said they trust each other. "Gorbachev has at last realised that only the support of a nationwide democratic movement and the support for democratic and economic reforms can take our country out of the crisis," Yeltsin said.

"Gorbachev now believes in Russia. I think he to a large extent or perhaps completely believes in my sincerity toward him. I also trust him now—fully or almost fully. By all means more than three weeks ago," Yeltsin said.

Speaking on inter-republican relations, the president said: "Relations can be only equal. Imperial manners do not work any more. Russia will base its relations with everyone on equality, while protecting it residents' interests."

He said republics can reach a union "at different levels of autonomy and independence." "Even the Baltic republics can and want to participate in an economic agreement," Yeltsin said. He believes at least 14 or probably all 15 republics will participate in this agreement.

The president disagreed that the Russian government has assumed some powers of the federal leadership, especially in shifting cadres.

"My moves were justified. Taking into account Russia's significance, especially its role in thwarting the putsch, and considering that the army on the whole did not act against the people and obeyed the Russian president, I could say that Russia should propose candidates for key governmental posts. And I made these proposals to the country's president," Yeltsin said.

"Gorbachev has made many mistakes in his appointments to key positions. In fact, he was betrayed by everyone. This is his tragedy. Nobody betrayed me, for example. That's why when I recommended Barannikov to the post of interior minister, I was sure that he will not betray Gorbachev, or me or, most important, the people of the country," Yeltsin said.

He said "Defence Minister Shaposhnikov is not a representative of Russia. He was deputy defence minister but refused to participate in the plot."

Speaking about Vadim Bakatin, Yeltsin said "he is Gorbachev's aide, but I trust him. I believe he is half Russia's and half Gorbachev's. He will perform his role honestly."

Commenting on the Ukraine's decision to transfer all nuclear forces from its territory to Russia and on a similar step that is expected to be taken by Kazakhstan, Yeltsin said "Our attitude is as follows. First, to set up a special structure, and it is being created already, to control nuclear weapons, in order that neither 'hawks' nor 'ultra'—the leftists or rightists—nor terrorists get hold of them. That is we want that apart from the central government Russia will also control and be responsible before the world community that these nuclear weapons are under serious control."

The president reiterated that his republic continues to support the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of their testing and in the long run their full destruction.

Speaking on last month's failed coup, Yeltsin said that the attempt to stage a coup showed the need for organisational measures to rule out similar events.

"We should always remember that the roots of totalitarianism remain. We have to extirpate them and continue moving towards a law-governed state," Yeltsin said.

He called for a radical reorganisation of ministries and departments' activities in national security. He expressed indignation over the fact that the 12th KGB Department tapped telephone conversations "not of one" million Soviet people, including the Russian president. [sentence as received] "Huge volumes" of documents in a safe of one of the plotters, Boldin, prove this.

Yeltsin believes the people is the main winner in the fight against the plotters. "I feel people's support," he said. He expressed gratitude to the world community for its support for the democratic forces in the Soviet Union during hardships.

Sobchak Recommended as Supreme Soviet Chairman

LD3008111291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] According to unofficial information received by INTERFAX, the top leaders of the USSR and of the

Union republics have agreed to recommend Anatoliy Sobchak for the post of chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet.

INTERFAX has also learned that a decision has been made not to form an all-Union Cabinet of Ministers. It is planned to set up instead a range of committees, each of which will be responsible for a number of Union ministries. It is not as yet clear, though, whether the leaders of the committees will be directly subordinate to the USSR president or will form part of a combined committee presided over by its own chairman.

Here is a report we have received from Leningrad. I do not see any role for myself other than the role of mayor of Leningrad, USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak declared. In a conversation with journalists, he stressed that the people of Leningrad had put their trust in him at the elections, so that he could not alter his status without a decision from them. I cannot imagine myself separated from the duties that I am now performing, Sobchak continued. As for participation in Union structures, then, as a member of the country's parliament, I am doing everything in my power to prevent uncontrollable reactions of collapse. If I am included in the composition of the Security Council, Sobchak declared, I am ready to work there, but my basic position is that of mayor of St. Petersburg.

Leningrad Mayor Says Country 'Needs' Gorbachev

PM0309113291 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 28 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of Leningrad, by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Cucurnia] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, today you announced to parliament the danger of the USSR's nuclear might being dangerously dispersed among the many capitals of the Soviet Union. Does that mean that the USSR no longer exists and that its disintegration is irreversible?

[Sobchak] We are at present witnessing the collapse of our state as it has existed for over 70 years. It is indispensable that this process take place in a more or less controlled way; otherwise, we will have an explosion sooner or later, just as in an atomic chain reaction. We have supported the right to sovereignty and independence of the Soviet Union's peoples, and we have fought with all ours arms to defend it. Now we are asking that before separating and each of us going our own way, there be a discussion of the unresolved problems—first and foremost, defense. The USSR was a major nuclear power and our country is full of nuclear weapons. If the Ukraine now decides to take control of the nuclear weapons deployed on its territory, the situation will become extremely dangerous; we cannot allow this to happen. Our country's defense must be centralized, but to do this it is necessary to sit down and reach agreement on everything.

[Cucurnia] But how do you—Russia's democratic forces, which won the final battle against the putschists—see the country's future?

[Sobchak] Our country's future institutional form must be decided by all of us together, without setting any limitations in advance: It could be an economic cooperation structure along the lines of the Commonwealth or the EEC, or a different kind of federation or confederation. As things stand, anything is possible—except for this way of convening the republics' parliaments and declaring independence, saying: "We too are leaving, and that is that." This is partly because some republics are already using the independence weapon to salvage the old regime, to preserve the CPSU and its assets.

[Cucurnia] Does it not seem to you, however, that the republics are worried about the extremely personal character that Yeltsin is imparting to the situation, even making territorial claims?

[Sobchak] Unfortunately, Yeltsin's latest statement was rather inappropriate because it did not include the necessary explanations. The gist of it was, however, correct: We are willing to confirm the territorial form and borders or the republics that remain in the country, in one form or another. If one of the republics decides to leave the Union, however, negotiations on the territorial problem must also begin, because ever since Lenin, borders were established arbitrarily, and many of Russia's lands were allocated to other republics, from Kazakhstan to the Ukraine, Lithuania, and so forth.

[Cucurnia] This is more or less what the Kremlin leaders were saying until a few weeks ago. Do you not believe that the coup has altered the ground rules?

[Sobchak] The coup did not establish any new rules because a coup by definition always entails the absence of rules and legality. Indeed, what we are witnessing at present in the republics and in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is nothing short of a continuation of the coup by other means: The signing of the Union treaty has been been abandoned and the deputies are endorsing our country's laceration.

[Cucurnia] What do you intend to do about this?

[Sobchak] Unfortunately, there is little choice because the future is already here. The Baltic republics that first started the separatist war are now in serious difficulty. The population's living standard, which were the highest in the USSR until five years ago, are now among the lowest. This is prompting the Baltic leaders to backtrack, to seek negotiations. The Ukraine's position, however, is very worrying. We buy 40% of the grain that we consume abroad. We have just obtained a credit worth 1 billion [currency not specified] for purchases, but the credit was granted to the USSR, not to Kazakhstan, Russia, or the Ukraine. If matters continue in this way, the credit will not be ratified and the country will be left without bread this winter.

[Cucurnia] Unless I am mistaken, you think that an inter-republican center should continue to exist. But the general impression is that Yeltsin's Russia is already superimposing itself on the old center, creating a new one.

[Sobchak] No, it is no longer possible today to create a bureaucratic and omnipresent central authority as we once had. Much of the blame for what has happened lies precisely with that Gorbachevian center that curbed the transformation process for too long.

For this reason we are now urging Gorbachev to relinquish the special powers that he has never used and that were used by the putschists for the coup. New democratic institutions, a system of political counterbalances that will force the president to take account of people's opinions, must be created around the presidency. The new center will be a point of coordination for the republics' activities, the authority responsible for performing the tasks that the individual united states of the USSR cannot perform—ecological, energy, communications, and defense matters.

[Cucurnia] This time, however, many things will be determined by elections.

[Sobchak] Elections cannot be held now. There is no time, and it would not make sense, in view of the republics' positions. We are experiencing a transition period and our only goal must be to preserve the country in its entirety.

[Cucurnia] This morning in the pages of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Vitaliy Tretyakov wrote that "Gorbachev is now a defenseless man who serves Yeltsin only as the symbol of restored legality." What do you think?

[Sobchak] I really do not know on what such statements are based. I see things entirely differently. Gorbachev is not a pawn in Yeltsin's hands. I have known him for a long time and I have met with him several times in the past few days. I can tell you that on the morning of 24 August, a few days after his release, I realized as I spoke with him that he had not yet entirely recovered from the shock. Now he is again the same Gorbachev as before—confident and completely recovered. Unfortunately, from time to time he has started talking again as he did in recent months, as though nothing had changed during this week. He has not had time to reappraise the whole situation. But the country needs him, and his political future depends solely on what he does in the coming days and months.

Sobchak Examines Role of Russian Federation

AU0309152791 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 91 p 14

[Interview with Anatoliy Sobchak, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and mayor of Leningrad, by Vladimir Divis in Moscow; date not given: "Concerning the Role of the Russian Federation"]

[Divis] The Russian parliament has recently taken over some of the functions of the Union parliament. In your opinion, what will happen next?

[Sobchak] Russian parliamentary deputies deserve our highest praise for what they did. However, the issue now involves the entire state in which all the republics are equal. Russian organs can in no way replace Union ones. I think the Russian leadership is aware of this. It is now necessary to make an unequivocal decision: Either strive to create a so-called Greater Russia or to establish Russia as a completely independent international entity absolutely separate from the other republics. In my opinion, however, this would be a grave mistake. The third and most viable variant is a union with the other sovereign republics.

[Divis] Only a couple of days remain until the start of the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. What has to be done before the congress?

[Sobchak] It is necessary, for example, to abolish our own particular brainchild—the law on extraordinary full powers for the president, powers which, by the way, Gorbachev never exercised, while Yanayev tried to abuse them to a considerable extent. Furthermore, the day before the congress begins we should dissolve our Union legislature and thus give the congress' participants the opportunity to elect a completely new USSR Supreme Soviet. The Communist Party should also de jure dissolve itself before the congress. We should also draft a proposal to considerably reduce the number of members of the USSR parliament to 200—or 300 at the most—deputies.

[Divis] Many people are now calling for the absolute abolition of the Union's legislature.

[Sobchak] On the contrary, during the transition period, our country cannot remain without a government. In particular, it cannot remain without a supreme organ of state authority—parliament—however far from perfect the current parliament is.

[Divis] What do you think of Gorbachev's address to the Soviet parliament?

[Sobchak] In no way do I consider this to be a capitulation; it was just a logical reevaluation of the points of view he has held until now.

Popov Affirms Need for Yeltsin-Gorbachev Team

AU0209093191 Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 29 Aug 91 p 3

[Susanne Vieth-Entus report: "We Need Gorbachev and Yeltsin as a Team"]

[Text] Berlin—Moscow's mayor is not a man of grand words. Even though the putsch took place only one week ago, he renounced his merit gained during the critical hours. Instead, he deals with questions that refer to the future of the structure "USSR." Gavriil Popov does not

share the fears of his Leningrad counterpart Sobchak that the Soviet Union is being propelled toward chaos, hunger, and anarchy. Therefore, he thinks it is unlikely that a state of emergency will have to be implemented by democratic means soon.

The reform politician also does not believe that the days of the union of states are nearly over. Moreover, he does not think that Mikhail Gorbachev is dispensable as president. In an interview with NEUE ZEIT, the Moscow mayor advocated the view that the jurist Gorbachev would ably head a future economic union, provided he draws the right experts around him.

Even though he is a renowned economist and advocate of the market economy, Popov himself does not necessarily want to be the minister of economy or finances in the Cabinet but prefers to keep his job as mayor of the capital city. However, he wishes that in the future he need not start every morning facing the the question of how many train cars with meat or eggs have reached the capital overnight. Instead, he hopes that the market forces will finally be able to resolve these problems.

Gavriil Popov estimates it will probably take five to 10 years for the Soviet Union to develop into a federation of sovereign members. He thinks this federation could have a central parliament, comparable to the European Parliament. This parliament would then have a coordinating role—just as Yeltsin suggested in the past: The power of disposition should be reserved exclusively for the republics.

On the path toward this union, however, the Yeltsin-Gorbachev duo forms an excellent team. Yeltsin has shown that he has leadership qualities, and Gorbachev can be trusted to play a positive role in the future. As seen in his behavior over the past few days, the Soviet president showed his willingness for consistent changes. He and Yeltsin found the strength to overcome their differences.

Popov does not see any danger in the emergence of Greater Russian chauvinism. The scientist of Greek origins, who still cultivates his family traditions, points to the composition of the demonstrators who took to the streets to protest the putsch. It was not Russian nationalists who excelled, but young people with completely different motives. As an example, he talks about three victims of the putsch. One was an artist, one a self-employed entrepreneur, and the third a worker in a cooperative. They all knew exactly what they wanted, and that was certainly not a Greater Russian empire. He personally sees an upswing among all the Russian people, a new eagerness, and pride in democracy.

The mayor thinks that the specter of Russian chauvinism is being conjured up by some republics to justify their own struggle for independence after the putsch. In this connection he mentions, above all, the Ukrainian Government. It did not condemn the putsch, and declared independence from Moscow only when the Central Committee building became occupied. This clearly shows that the old Communist cadres are still working in Kiev.

Asked how long one will still be able to view the embalmed body of state founder Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in the mausoleum, the mayor says with a smile that it will probably not take too long until Lenin's last wish is fulfilled: burial beside his mother. Asked about Erich Honecker's extradition to the German judiciary, he stated—again not quite seriously—that Moscow would actually like to get rid of the former State Council chairman, but that it is doubtful whether the Germans would really want him back.

In conclusion, asked again about the supply situation in Moscow, Popov admitted that it will certainly not be easy to ensure a supply of foodstuffs and electricity this winter. However, there is hope, perhaps in partnership with Berlin. Upon his farewell Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen presented to his guest an invitation to 100 business representatives from Moscow. They are supposed to be trained in Berlin.

Yevgeniy Yevtuschenko, poet and director, who accompanied the Moscow delegation, answered the question by NEUE ZEIT of whether one can avoid a state of emergency in the long run by saying: "There will be other ways to prevent bloodshed. We just have to look together for new solutions."

Silayev Ordinance on Enterprises' Export Earnings

PM0309153191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 2

[Ordinance by I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, carried under the "Ordinances" rubric]

[Text] 1. It is to be established that in 1991 currency resources from the supply of goods (work and services) for export left after contributions to clearing the external debt and to forming the currency funds of enterprises and after contributions to the Union-Republic Currency Fund are to be distributed in equal proportion between the RSFSR Republic Currency Fund and the currency funds of local soviets.

2. In order to enhance the interest of enterprises and the regions in increasing exports in 1991 enterprises are to be authorized to channel into their currency funds 85 percent of earnings derived from the export of goods (work, services) in excess of:
—the set export targets;
—contractual commitments for supplies inside the country, including supplies to meet state needs, and for export; and
—the actual export volumes achieved in 1990.

The remainder of the currency resources are sold by enterprises at the commercial rate with payment in rubles into the currency funds of local soviets.

3. The management of currency and financial transactions involving the currency accounts of the RSFSR Republic Currency Fund and the RSFSR Council of Ministers Currency Fund in the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is to be vested in the RSFSR Finance Ministry; and the RSFSR Finance Ministry, with the participation of the RSFSR Bank for Foreign Trade, is to be instructed to register the transfer of currency resources from the aforementioned accounts in the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity to the relevant accounts in the RSFSR Bank for Foreign Trade.

[Signed] I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers
[Dated] 27 August 1991, Moscow
No. 954-R

Silayev Sees Possibility in Republic Currencies

LD0309224491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, considers there is nothing terrible in each republic's having its own national currency. But in inter-republican relations, in Silayev's opinion, there should be some kind of single monetary unit. He announced this on Tuesday at a news conference in the Kremlin. Also taking part in the news conference were Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Yuriy Luzhkov, and Arkadiy Volskiy. Together with Ivan Silayev they belong to the leadership of the committee for operational management of the national economy of the USSR. It is possible, Ivan Silayev said, that the Russian ruble will be the inter-republican currency with certain guarantees. But that, in Silayev's words, is so far just his personal point of view.

Poll Shows Support for Dissolving Supreme Soviet

LD0409101991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The eternal question: What is to be done? Sociologists have been searching for the answer in the central belt of Russia. Our Voronezh correspondent Eduard (Mendeleyev) has the results of the poll:

[Begin (Mendeleyev) recording] The All-Union Center for Studying Public Opinion summed up the results of a sociological poll on 3 September involving more than 1,000 people. To the question of how would you regard the dissolution of the Congress and Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a tranfer of all power to the republics, 42% of those replying responded positively. This is as far as the people of Voronezh are concerned. Data from the whole of Russia is nearly the same: Forty percent of people in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] favor the dissolution of the Union legislature and handing over power to the republics. [passage omitted]

Fifty-four percent of the people of Voronezh and 50% of the people of the RSFSR feel that Gorbachev should remain in the post of USSR president as a guarantor of stability in the political situation and in society.

Yeltsin's Economic Adviser on Russia's Economy

AU0309100591 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with Igor Nit, economic adviser to Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic president, by NOVOSTI reporter Vitaliy Sokolov on behalf of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sokolov] The go-ahead has now been given for economic reforms. Can the known programs, which have not yet been implemented, be used, or is it necessary to draft entirely new programs?

[Nit] We cannot use these programs. Frankly speaking, they were not programs but statements of intent. Now new systems of measures and mechanisms to implement them have to be developed. They must be based on the privatization law. In this respect, much has to be considered, including the requirements of the free market.

[Sokolov] Is it realistic to set a deadline of 500 days or less for the transition to the "free" market economy?

[Nit] No, that is unrealistic. It is as senseless as the claim made years ago that we would reach communism in the next five-year-plan period. That is the same nonsense.

[Sokolov] What kind of social network can be created to absorb those who do not survive on the market or do not even reach it?

[Nit] That is really a problem in our society, but I hope that it will be much easier to solve it in our country than in the West. Our special situation is marked by the fact that our national economy was not oriented toward economic expediency but toward maintaining a sort of egalitarianism. That meant that everybody went through the turnpike. Therefore, there is a social regulatory mechanism in our society, a general striving for social justice. There is deep-seated understanding for the necessity of social security. I believe therefore that it is easier to carry out such a program than to carry out any other program.

[Sokolov] How can economic relations be maintained or even improved, given the disintegration of the union and the introduction of different currencies?

[Nit] Relations must be shaped on the basis of the development of every individual republic.

[Sokolov] Is there not the danger that the commands from Moscow will just be replaced by commands from the capitals of the individual republics?

[Nit] There was such a danger at the beginning of perestroyka. Today, after the coup, those forces in the republics who wanted such an order and intended to

replace the tyranny of the center by the despotism of the republics—as U.S. President Bush has said—have lost power. The people, the new forces of entrepreneurs, and the national forces will simply not permit this.

[Sokolov] The West has rejected economic aid not only for political reasons, but also because the USSR has been viewed as a bottomless pit, a country without the necessary infrastructure. How can the pit be given a bottom?

[Nit] A bottom for this pit has already been formed. However, because the West is unable to see and understand, it has not understood this. Sovereign republics have emerged here. What the USSR is today is not clear. However, no matter where you point your finger on the map of the USSR, you will see a republic everywhere. That is the bottom of the pit. You do not have to talk with the USSR, but you must talk with the republics. What is even better, talks not only with the governments of the republics but also with the commercial structures within these republics. Then everything becomes clear—the pit, the bottom, the relations, the mutual relations, and the interlocutors. They invest money and get goods or money. Now that the putsch has been defeated, everything has its place. That means that there are real opportunities for normal trade.

[Sokolov] What type of aid do you consider most important?

[Nit] The most important thing for Russia is processing its agricultural production. It is no big problem to harvest everything. However, what we urgently need is equipment for processing the broad range of agricultural products. That would be the best aid.

Union Banks Disagree With Russian Bank's Policy

PM0309153291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[By M. Sergeyev: "Commercial Banks Move Toward Conflict With Central Bank of Russia"]

[Text] Representatives of more than 70 commercial banks united in the Moscow Banking Union have vigorously declared their disagreement with the policy of the Central Bank of Russia with regard to free banking structures. They have accused this central department of trying in effect to stifle lower-level banks.

The problem was discussed Thursday at a general meeting of Moscow Banking Union members. Representatives of many commercial banks complained that the procedure for their official registration is dragged out for months on end because of obstacles created by officials. It was also said that the Central Bank hampers the work of its junior colleagues by demanding an excessive quantity of documentation from them. They discussed, in particular, a circular issued by the Central Bank of Russia Main Administration for Moscow City, which contains a long list of various kinds of certificates, accounts, and balance sheets which commercial banks are required to submit to the Central Bank. The participants in the meeting decided to ignore this demand and raised the question of appealing to the courts against certain decisions by the central department.

After the meeting Sergey Yegorov, general director of the Moscow Banking Union, who is also president of the Association of Russian Banks, told me that in order to prepare the reports demanded by the Central Bank of Russia the commercial banks would have to considerably increase their manpower. In his opinion these reports are without any practical point, since the free banks have a greater interest in their own successful work than any inspectors could have.

Among other questions discussed at the meeting of Moscow Banking Union members was the participation of commercial banks in the privatization of state property, including CPSU property.

Oldest Russian Paper Revived in Leningrad

LD0309195191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Summary] The publication of the oldest Russian newspaper, SANKT PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI, has been resumed. The first issue of the newspaper dates back to 1728. It was founded by the mayor's office of Leningrad.

Chechen-Ingush State of Emergency Declared

LD0409103891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Groznyy, 4 Sep (TASS)—The situation in Groznyy, the capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic (North Caucasus) is extremely tense. [passage omitted] The parliament and government buildings are blockaded.

Moscow: TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov has been told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center that armed units from the so-called National Guard of Chechen-Ingush seized the television center building and the radio building on Tuesday at about 0900 hours.

According to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, about 3,000 people continued an unauthorized meeting yesterday on the square in front of the republican Council of Ministers building. Speaking on the local television and radio network, Dzhakhar Dudayev, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress of Chechen People, and Soslambekov, member of the leadership of the Vaynakh Democratic Party, declared the abolition of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. The Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution introducing a state of emergency in Groznyy from 0000 on 4 September to 10 September.

At yesterday's session of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet, it was decided to hold direct elections for the first president of the republic on 29 September. Many people, however, doubt the reality of holding these elections.

Yeltsin's Representative Addresses Volga Germans

PM0409090291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Moscow Edition p 2

[Valentina Nikolayeva report from Saratov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Sorrowful Anniversary for Soviet Germans"]

[Text] A day of national mourning for Soviet Germans, who were forcibly resettled to remote regions of the country 50 years ago, was held on the territory of the former republic of Volga Germans.

A service for those of the labor army who died and for all victims of the totalitarian regime was held at the Church of the Intercession in the city of Engels by Yozef Baronas, head of the Lutheran Church, who came here from Leningrad. In the evening rallies were held in the Volga region in defense of the rights of repressed peoples, and representatives of the Democratic Russia movement took part. A rally in Saratov was addressed by V. Golovachev, plenipotentiary representative of the Russian president for Saratov Oblast, who stated that he will monitor strictly the implementation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law on the Restoration of the Legitimate Rights of Repressed Peoples, and expressed confidence that the autonomous republic of Volga Germans will be revived.

Volga-Urals Military District's Departyization

LD0309182691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Departyization has been completed in the Volga-Urals Military District. In a matter of days, more than 100 major CPSU organizations of the district have ceased to function. About 30,000 communists have been given back their registration cards and will themselves decide whether to remain members of the party.

Yeltsin's Representative Assumes Yaroslavl Duties

PM0409095991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Sep 91 p 3

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Vakhrin: "Without Leather Jerkins and Mausers"]

[Text] Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Varukhin has set about the execution of his duties as the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's representative in Yaroslavl Oblast.

Before being appointed to this post he headed a department at the Rybinsk aviation technology institute. He is a candidate of technical sciences, a nonparty person, and father of two adult daughters.

"In our activity we shall not be like commissars in leather jerkins with Mausers instilling terror in all," he stated at his first news conference. "We serve only the law. Our duty is to keep track of how the laws of Russia and the decrees of its president are fulfilled locally."

Speaking on television to the oblast's population, V. Varukhin stressed that he has been sent not to dismiss anyone from his work, to allocate money, or get hold of bricks and pipes. At the same time constructive collaboration with the local organs of management will help the adoption of decisions at state level making it possible to eliminate economic problems in the region too.

So far, V. Varukhin has not had to make any statements about violations or delayed reaction by the local authorities to the president's decrees. However, the first week of work was very strenuous for him. He immediately had to join in the work of the oblast soviet of people's deputies presidium, which had adopted a number of important decisions, including the suspension of the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party on the territory of Yaroslavl Oblast, the investigation of anticonstitutional activity by officials, and so forth. Now the law enforcement organs' execution of the decrees on the transfer of archives and buildings and the conservation of the material assets of the Russian Communist Party is now under the control of the Russian president's representative.

Arkhangelsk Deputies Request Yeltsin Envoy

PM0409083891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Moscow Edition p 2

[By Ivan Bentsa from Arkhangelsk under the "Direct Line" rubric: "The North Also Needs a Man From the President"]

[Text] After the investigation at an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet into events during the days of the coup, a group of oblast soviet deputies requested that the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet examine the question of appointing a representative of the Russian president to the oblast.

The oblast soviet leadership did not betray Russian laws and did not support the putschists. The deputies' actions were deemed constitutional. Nonetheless, the discussion was heated and uncompromising. There were differences over the assessment of the actions of Oblast Soviet Deputy Chairman V. Shiryayev, who became the main protagonist on 19 August, in the absence of the soviet chairman and the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairman (both were on vacation). Because of the lack of firmness and clarity in his position, deputies raised the question of confidence, but in a vote the proposal was not passed and that was the decisive factor in the decision by a group of deputies with resolute views to appeal to the Russian legislature. As a sign of protest against what they saw as obedient assessments, they left the hall, and the extraordinary session was unable to examine all the questions planned.

Call To Withdraw Vorkuta From Komi Announced

LD0309164291 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta September 3 TASS—The motion to withdraw Vorkuta, a coal mining centre in the Arctic from the Komi Autonomous Republic and transfer it to the direct jurisdiction of the Russian Federation has been announced here and its initiators have begun collecting signatures under the call to convene a special session of the Vorkuta City Council to consider the motion.

The initiators say that after withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the Komi autonomy, Vorkuta must claim the free enterprise zone status.

Komi Supreme Soviet Presidium Members Resign

LD3108194591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Prokhorov and Rumanova members of the Presidium of the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and also a group of six republican people's deputies who during the coup d'etat advocated resolute support for the Russian Government, have resigned. This has been done as a sign of protest that the extraordinary session of the Komi SSR Supreme Soviet session rejected a proposal on the retirement of the whole Presidium as not having given support to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic leadership during the days of the putsch.

North Ossetia Legislature Condemns Coup Attempt

LD0109124691 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 1 TASS—A special session of the parliament of North Ossetia, a Soviet Caucasian republic, has condemned last month's unconstitutional coup and stressed that North Ossetia's multiethnic populace remained faithful to the constitutional system and democratic changes in Russia.

The parliament praised the decisive action taken by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Presidium of the Russian Parliament and the Russian government to defend the consitutional system.

Speakers at the session criticised the North Ossetian leadership for dragging feet and failing to decisively condemn the unconstitutional activity of the coup people straight away, but noted that no steps were taken to expedite the implementation of GKCP [State Committee for the State of Emergency] orders in the republic. The republic's authorities during the coup concentrated on maintaining stability and the normal operation of the republic economy, as well as on ensuring the security of people.

Democratic forces in the republic called a mass rally on Saturday to criticize the leadership of North Ossetia for failing to comply with Yeltsin's decrees and thus supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The rally demanded that the presidium of the republic parliament and the republic government resign and the editors of North Ossetian newspapers and the chairman of North Ossetian television and radio committee be relieved of their duties.

Stavropol Rally Demand Resignation of Officials

LD0309145391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0904 GMT on 3 September, in its "Television News Service" program, broadcasts a brief report by correspondent Guskov from Stavropol kray noting that for the last ten days local activists of the Democratic Party of Russia and the Democratic Party of the Communists of Russia have been pressuring the leadership of the Stavropol kray soviet into resignation by organizing numerous rallies. As a result, an extraordinary session of the kray soviet was convened.

Guskov goes on to report that: "Vasiliy Zhurakovskiy, who is looked on here as an actual representative of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, said that in the Stavropol region he—I am quoting here his interview given to the STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper—has not heard from anyone that there were any actions in defense of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, but the fact that nothing was done to organize active opposition is quite typical for all regions, it seems. The kray soviet session issued an appeal to unite and to restore normal work of the national economy. Participants in a hunger strike, which continues here today, still insist however that the kray leadership must resign". The Stavropol kray inhabitants are to make a decision on this, Guskov concludes.

Kabardino-Balkar Leadership Forced To Resign

PM0309131991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Kabardino-Balkaria Without Government"]

[Text] Since the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Kabardino-Balkaria, when the president submitted his resignation and the whole body of deputies was dissolved, the rally of democratic forces, which began six days ago, has shown no sign of stopping. The next demand was for the immediate removal of all republic leaders from their posts. V. Kokov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkar Supreme Soviet Presidium, and M. Mamkhegov, chairman of the Council of Ministers,

had, in the opinion of the democratic forces, taken no measures at all to counter the anticonstitutional coup d'etat and had essentially adopted a neutral position.

Yesterday, under pressure from participants in the rally, a session of the Kabardino-Balkar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held, where all the republic leaders resigned forthwith; the Presidium itself was dissolved. The democratic forces have demanded the resignation of the republic's prosecutor, the editors of local newspapers, and the chairman of republic television.

New Chairman of Krasnodar Kray Soviet Appointed

LD0109094691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Zhdanovskiy, senior lecturer at Kuban State University and candidate of historic sciences, has been appointed chairman of Krasnodar Kray Soviet of People's Deputies. He replaces Kondratenko, who was removed from this post by the presidium of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. A session of the kray soviet has abolished the post of chairman of the kray's executive committee. Instead, the post of deputy to the head of administration, who is the general director of administration of the Krasnodar Kray, has been introduced.

Rossiya Group Protests Khasbulatov Remarks

LD0109092891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Rossiya parliamentary group which works in the Supreme Soviet of our republic has protested at the speech by Ruslan Khasbulatov in which he called the group one of the ideological inspirations of the coup. The leaders of Rossiya feel that this was done in order to remove Sergey Baburin from political activity.

Tatar President Leaves CPSU Central Committee

PM0109213791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Single Edition p 2

[By correspondent N. Morozov: "Republic Day"]

[Text] Kazan—Following a heated debate a Tatar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session has abrogated the recent decision adopted by the republic's Cabinet of Ministers on nationalizing property belonging to the CPSU's republic organization. President M. Shaymiyev said that he was leaving the CPSU Central Committee. When asked whether he would remain a member of the Communist Party, he replied that he would abstain for the time being, but would have to determine his position. The president stressed that he was and would continue to be the guarantor of Tatarstan's sovereignty and the rights and freedoms of the individual, and reiterated the position that he had voiced at the Novo-Ogarevo talks: The republic intends to sign the Union Treaty directly and autonomously.

S. Shakhray, Russian presidential adviser, delivered a brief speech to the session's participant congratulating deputies and all Tatarstan's working people on Republic Day.

Suspends Party Membership

LD0309195891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1149 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Kazan, 3 Sep (TASS)—Mintimer Shaymiyev, the president of the Republic of Tatarstan, today announced the suspension of his membership of the CPSU. The former member of the CPSU Central Committee and first scretary of the Tatar Party Obkom, based his decision on the situation in the country and the establishment of a multi-party system. The suspension is in force while he carries out his constitutional duties. Following the president's example, the Tatar vice president and the chairman of its Supreme Soviet also suspended their membership of the CPSU.

Deputies Support Shaymiyev, Presidium

LD0109044591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Today is the anniversary of the proclamation of state sovereignty by the Republic of Tatarstan. Our correspondent Ilyas Latypov recalls that this day has been declared a holiday. An extraordinary session of the Republican Supreme Soviet was held the day before to examine the issue of current moment. In essence, it raised the issue of confidence in the president and the Supreme Soviet Presidium. After the discussion, deputies adopted a decision expressing confidence in their bodies of power. Only the People's Power group was an exception. It decided to carry out its own investigation of the events by deputies. Rallies and other events devoted to the anniversary of the sovereignty declaration are taking place in Kazan and all the towns and rayons of the Republic today.

Bashkir Supreme Soviet Holds Extraordinary Session

LD0109112991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Yesterday an extraordinary session of the Bashkir Supreme Soviet met. With the details here is our correspondent Andrey Krivoshey from Ufa:

[Krivoshey] Political life in Bashkir SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has become white hot. On 31 August, a long awaited extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet at last opened. One question was on the agenda: the political and economic situation in the Bashkir SSR. In other words, deputies gathered in order to speak their views on the activities of the Supreme Soviet during the coup d'etat. According to observers, the deputies gathered too late. Had they had this session a week ago, many things would have been different.

The majority of those who spoke talked about their adherence to the course of the Supreme Soviet of the Bashkir SSR. An appeal to the citizens of Bashkir SSR by Murtaza Rakhimov, Supreme Soviet chairman, which he made on 20 August, and which was fervently supported by the deputies today, became the main issue for discussion. Let me remind you that this appeal said that the Constitutions of the USSR, Russia, and Bashkir SSR remained in operation in the republic and that a state of emergency was not being introduced there. However, some deputies who signed "the statement of the 40" were insistent that in days that were difficult for the country the Supreme Soviet and its chairman Murtaza Rakhimov were playing a waiting game.

If the first half of the meeting was held under the banner of universal approval then nearer the interval this "statement of the 40," read out by Deputy (Urazbayev) produced an explosive effect. The session then went along a different route. In the end, however, the overwhelming majority of the deputies supported the position of the present leadership and a resignation, awaited by many, did not take place.

At the same time a mass meeting was held in the street outside the building where the sitting of the republic's parliament was taking place. Representatives of the Ural Bashkir national center, which supports the present Bashkir SSR leadership, took part in the meeting. Incidentally, there were a number of rumors about these representatives at the session. It was said that the people in the support group for the Supreme Soviet were specially brought there by bus. I personally will abstain from comment because I do not have reliable information.

So, the session is over. A resolution was passed which expressed approval of the policy of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Meanwhile, in the republic, preparations for the first congress of democratic forces are in full swing. This is Andrey Krivoshey, information service, Radio Rossii.

Bashkir Leaders' Support for Coup Viewed

PM0209101591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 2

[By correspondent Mikhail Valiulin: "Party Functionaries Seized Power in Bashkir"]

[Text] The three grim days in the history of our fatherland revealed most sharply the true nature of the so-called friends of the people, the defenders of their interests who had been shouting about it at every crossroads. It is in no way surprising that the procommunist majority of the Bashkir Supreme Soviet and council of ministers openly stated their full support for the junta. The official republican publications instantly printed all the plotters' guideline instructions without exception. And Murtaz Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who until recently had donned the garb of a democrat, very promptly issued an appeal to the population of Bashkir, promising an almost paradisaic life under the reactionary regime.

Now everything has been called by its name: Those who directly or indirectly supported the putschists are state criminals and a fair trial should be conducted for them. Bashkir is a former autonomous body which has constantly been in a state of cold war with Russia. The stage managers of this war were the assiduous pupils of the renowned party boss Shakirov, who had become quite skilled in political intrigues. It was they who seized all power in Bashkir and recently fuelled real national hysteria around Yeltsin's expected decree on the structure of presidential power and launched a powerful campaign to elect their own president. The decrepit authoritarian police system assumed in Bashkir an open course toward confrontation with Russian laws. And that despite the fact that the republic, in accordance with the declaration on state sovereignty, is a subject of both Russia and the USSR. Locally you hear people put many bewildered questions about the reasons for the repeal of private ownership of land in Bashkir, the suspension of the "law on the militia in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]" and other very important acts of legislation giving mankind a path toward freedom and independence. But however zealously the party officials struggle against people's liberation from 73 years of slavery, however they sling mud at the Russian leader Yeltsin, they will still not succeed in dissuading Bashkir from choosing the correct path.

A graphic example is Boris Nikolayevich's confident victory 12 June this year, when over half the Bashkir electorate voted for his candidacy as RSFSR president. That means that people unequivocally determined their choice—only with Russia.

Buryat Statement on Supreme Soviet Session

LD0209225791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1657 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 2 September (TASS)—The Buryat Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] government published a statement today on the eve of the opening, of an extraordinary session of the republican parliament, in the course of which the Supreme Soviet presidium has proposed discussing the issue of confidence in Vladimir Saganov, chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers. The document notes that "the attempt at an anti-constitutional coup disturbed the population of the republic, exacerbated many contradictions and provoked an outburst of emotions. In these conditions, the main thing is to restore the normal rhythm of work."

"The time and the circumstances demand immediate steps to preserve stability and calm in the republic, the prevention of civil confrontation, and the mobilization of the efforts of all working people to overcome the difficulties which have arisen," the document stresses.

The government of Buryatiya considers that the convocation of the second extraordinary session of the Legislative body of the republic over the past week distracts people's deputies and the public from tackling the more important tasks. However, taking into account the fact that the parliament has been convened, the Council of Ministers proposes to discuss at the session issues concerning the election of a chairman of the Buryat SSR Supreme Soviet, and the introduction of the post of president of the republic and the procedure for his election."

Vladimir Oblast Chairman Dolgov Dismissed

LD0109045991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1330 GMT 30 aug 91

[Text] Dolgov, chairman of the Vladimir Oblast Executive Committee, has been released from his post. The decision was made by an extraordinary session of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies on the basis of the 23 August decree by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] president. Candidates to the post of head of administration of the oblast executive committee have been elected on an alternative basis. Two candidates were nominated: Vlasov, deputy chairman of the Vladimir City Executive Committee, and Andreyev, head of a small enterprise. Yegorov, RSFSR people's deputy, the representative of the Russian president in Vladimir Oblast, was presented to the deputies at the session.

Rostov Soviet Debates Leaders' Stance on Coup

PM0209104191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by own correspondent Vadim Ogurtsov: "Two Days of Striptease"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—A session of the Rostov Oblast Soviet has discussed the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's decrees on the removal of Ivanchenko from the post of chairman of the Soviet and of Borodayev from the post of chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] and has accepted the resignation of the oblast soviet presidium.

All this was the result of their tacit "neutrality" with regard to the anticonstitutional coup and their disregard for the decrees of the republic's legal leadership. Failing to express its attitude toward the notorious State Committee for the State of Emergency, the presidium accepted its criminal directives for execution and with the press and television blocked the proclamation of Russian decrees. This was so obvious that the session would seem to have nothing to discuss, especially as the Russian president has dismissed the two chairmen—of the soviet and the executive committee.

Far from it! At the very start of the session, taking time out, the deputies' group of communists, which still has absolute numerical supremacy, preferred the tactic of assiduously whitewashing the soviet leaders. Such a concerted guarantee from their party comrades reassured those who had made the wrong choice of power, who instead of recognizing their betrayal of the constitutional system, became evasive and lied.

Fortunately, the session at the very outset voted for direct television transmission. This striking political striptease which continued for a full two days was heard and seen by hundreds and thousands of the oblast's voters who with the aid of the democratic deputies finally saw who was who. And therefore the desperate appeals from the most conscientious deputies to dissolve the soviet until new elections, relying on presidential rule, seem entirely justified.

The session accepted the resignation of V. Minyaylo, chairman of the television and radio broadcasting committee. G. Gubanov, editor of the newspaper MOLOT, preferred to hide behind a flaw in the statute, which so far does not give the session the right to relieve an editor of his post.

Lipetsk Leaders Dismissed for Backing Putsch

PM0209111991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[V. Mirolevich report under the "Seven Days On" rubric: "Attempt To Fade Into the Shadows"]

[Text] An extraordinary session of the oblast soviet has opened in Lipetsk. On its first day of work the deputies listened to statements by Oblast Soviet Chairman V. Donskikh and members of the presidium asking to be released from their posts... at their own request.

I will remind you that the oblast leadership was one of the first and one of the few in Russia to dissociate itself from the legally elected power, and it swore allegiance to the Kremlin hypocrites and set up its own committee for the state of emergency. The session rejected the officials' attempt to fade into the shadows. Oblast Soviet Chairman V. Donskikh and the entire presidium were retired for aiding the putschists.

Primorye Facing Reductions in Energy Supplies

LD0309221191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Summary] In the Primorye, industrial enterprises will reduce their energy consumption because of shortages of fuel, labor, rails, and equipment for power stations and heating plants. During the summer, apartments in towns had virtually no hot water. Boilers are at a standstill in Vladivostok's Severnyy Heat and Electric Power Plant [TETs]. Capacity is falling at Primorskaya State Regional Electric Power Plant. The construction of a

heating plant in Ussuriysk has, in effect, been frozen. Electric Power Transmission Lines in the area are also prone to breakdown because of shoddy construction. Greens have prevented the exploitation of new coal fields and the construction of a nuclear power station in the taiga.

But the greatest problem is coal. There is currently an almost 500,000 tonnes shortfall in stockpiles as suppliers seek barter deals: coal in exchange for canned fish, timber, and video games. The situation is all the more serious since a hard winter is forecast. In an interview, the director of Vladivostok's TETs-2 said that, during the winter, the heating plant requires 10,000 tonnes of coal regularly every day. If this is combined with 4,000 to 5,000 tonnes taken from stockpiles, then the heating operation will be successful. The quality of the fuel is also a problem.

As a result of the various problems, there will be planned power cuts to factories, timber industry enterprises, and ports, so as to spread the available power more evenly. Homes may also be affected. [Video shows power and heating installations]

Kemerovo Official Criticizes Yeltsin Decree

LD0109025791 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 31 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigory Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo August 31 TASS—Chairman of the Kemerovo Regional Council of People's Deputies Aman Tuleyev has described the appointment of the head of the local administration by the Russian president as a punishment meted out to "other-thinkers".

Tuleyev was speaking at a special session of the council in this west-Siberian city.

"I am all for a strong presidential executive power," Tuleyev stressed. "The transition to a market is impossible without it. But the most democratic order for establishing the executive power is by a popular vote," Tuleyev said.

He said he could not agree to making the head of administration accountable only to the president. He said the move would mean a return to the old system, the advent of dictatorship.

The appointment of the head of administration without the consent of the regional council of people's deputies—as envisaged by the Russian president's decree of August 22, prompted negative reaction on the part of many deputies. They appealed to the leading bodies of Russia to include direct elections of heads of administration in regions and territories as a basic legal provision.

Belorussia

Foreign Minister on Reducing UN Contribution

OW0309170991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belorussian Foreign Minister Kravchenko has spoken of the need to decrease the Belorussian contribution to the United Nations Budget. He said that the Belorussian quota comprised 0.33 percent of the organisation's budget, that is about 3 million dollars per annum. The quotas of Israel and Kuwait, for example, are 0.23 percent and 0.29 percent respectively. Belorussia is 32nd in the table of 110 U.N. Budget contributors.

In an interview with an "INTERFAX" correspondent Mr. Kravchenko said that the republic could not win genuine freedom without two pre-conditions: a national referendum on leaving the Soviet Union and on the people's attitude to the 1922 All-Union Treaty.

Mr. Kravchenko said that it was a little-known fact, both within the USSR and abroad, that from 1920-1922 Belorussia existed as an independent sovereign state and was recognised as such by nine naions of the world, including Germany.

"We think that the wave of recognition that has swept over the Baltic republics will soon reach Belorussia", he said.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Disagrees With '1 Plus 10' Statement

OW0309132191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine disagrees with certain essential points of the 1 plus 10 statement, although it has signed the document, the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, said at a press conference yesterday evening. "We disagree, for example, with the idea of some abstract separate centre," he said. He believes all central bodies should be interrepublican. Otherwise "we shall have what we have now: the closer you are to the centre the more you get". Answering our correspondent, Kravchuk pointed out that, shortly before the end of the putsch and after it, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation had dealt with matters coming within the competence of the Union parliament. The Russian prime minister is virtually a co-chairman of the committee for the Management of the National Economy, which is performing the functions of a Union government and includes more members from the Russian Federation than from any other republic. "We see the reasons for it, but we believe at the same time that the wealth accumulated by all peoples of the Soviet Union should be fairly divided among them. We see this as an economic issue rather than a political one," said Kravchuk. He did not share the opinion that the Congress of People's Deputies had started a new coup d'etat. "In making suggestions for the agenda, the president and the top leaders of the republics were aware that some of them contradicted the legislation. But the situation in the republics and the Soviet Union as a whole is so grave that emergency measures are perfectly warranted, above all for the sake of preventing economic collapse," he said.

'Major' Disagreements With Statement

OW0309212891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2043 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine, the USSR's second most economically developed republic, has major disagreements with the declaration of the country's president and of the ten republics even though it signed the document. According to the Ukrainian parliament chairman Leonid Kravchuk, the republic favours the development of interrepublican state structures and opposes "an abstract separate centre."

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX], Kravchuk emphasized that Russia's parliament had discussed issues falling within the powers of the Union government during and following the coup attempt. The Committee for the Management of the National Economy headed by the Russian premier is also acting as the Union government, said the Ukrainian parliamentary leader.

Sees Confederation as Future

LD0209212791 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 2 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 2 TASS—The sovereignty has become the major theme of peoples' life, that is why the future of the present USSR seems to be a confederation, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk told Soviet and foreign correspondents today at the republican permanent representatives in Moscow upon the completion of the first day of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. [sentence as received]

Peoples now solve their political destiny in the republics, Kravchuk said. As for the Ukraine, the 80 per cent of its population favour the confederation, according to the poll.

Kravchuk stressed that he is a supporter of a fully-fledged state sovereignty of the Ukraine. However, raising of the issue of its recognition as an independent state by foreign countries is so far unreal, Kravchuk believes. It is necessary to wait for the results of the Ukrainian referendum scheduled for December 1.

Kravchuk stressed that a very important element of the Ukrainian politics is the preservation of good relations with Russia, which is caused by the history.

At the same time, he noted that during the victorious "post-coup" days the Russian parliament by its actions sometimes "takes upon itself" union powers.

The composition of the Soviet Committee for the Management of the National Economy also displays the prevailing of interests of one republic. We are against the attempts of those who are closer to the centre, to take more to themselves, Kravchuk noted.

Speaking about the Crimea, the head of the Ukrainian parliament said that the Crimean Autonomous Republic has restored its autonomy and that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has supported this act. The republic will remain territorially in the Ukraine.

Kravchuk noted that he does not agree with the aggressive form of the anti-socialist trend of the Rukh organisation.

But I am also against the reanimation of those forms of society's life that have led to nothing, since the worship of old ideals is not perceived by the people any more, Kravchuk said.

People's Deputies Criticize Presidential Rule

OW0209152991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1444 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Thirty-five USSR People's Deputies from the Ukraine have issued a joint statement saying that the system of presidential rule in the Soviet Union, as well as the Congress of People's Deputies and the national Supreme Soviet fail to meet society's interests or reflect the real balance of forces in the country. The statement urges a sweeping government reform and stresses the authors' resolve to abide exclusively by the Ukrainian Constitution and other laws, and support the declaration of Ukrainian independence.

Demonstration Against Union Treaty in Lvov

LD0209203691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2122 GMT 1 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The parade of freedom for the republics continues, and the threat of undermining the signing of the Union treaty is, alas, already a reality. A report from western Ukraine; Petr Savchak in Lvov especially for Television News Service:

[Savchak] [video report showing demonstrators, including unidentified group in blue uniforms, marching through streets carrying placards banners and blue and yellow flags; singing audible in background] A demonstration against the signing of the new Union treaty was held in Lvov today. Taking part were emissaries from various Ukrainian oblasts and also guests from abroad. This event was organized by the oblast organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party. As is known, the act of the independence of Ukraine was recently proclaimed. In the view of the demonstration organizers, the new Union Treaty runs counter to this. Participants in the demonstration carried banners calling for neighborliness, mutual understanding, and cooperation between the sovereign Ukraine and other states of the former Union. The Ukraine is indivisible and its borders are inviolable, the demonstrators chanted. More than 200,000 people took part in the procession.

A resolution contained demands for the immediate adoption of a new Ukraine Constitution as the basic law of an independent, democratic, rule-of-law state, for laws on Ukrainian armed forces, on citizenship of the republic to be adopted, and for the composition of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet to be revized.

Participants in the rally spoke out resolutely against any attempts to undermine Ukrainian statehood or to inflame inter-ethnic hostility and interreligious conflicts. They appealed to parliaments, governments, and to the world community to recognize Ukraine as an entity under international law.

Morozov Appointed New Republic Defense Minister

LD0309175791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 3 Sep (TASS)—Konstantin Morozov, commander of the air forces and major general of aviation, has been confirmed as the Ukraine's minister of defense. The decision on his appointment was adopted today by a majority vote at the session of the republic's parliament.

Konstantin Morozov was born on 3 June 1944 in the town of Bryanka in Lugansk Oblast to a professional military family. At the age of 12 he entered the Kharkov Higher Military Aviation College named after Sergey Gritsevets, from which he graduated in 1967. He served in various air defense posts on the territory of the USSR, in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. In 1988 he was appointed chief of staff and subsequently commander of the air forces in the Ukraine.

The new minister of defense of the Ukraine is a Russian, but his mother is Ukrainian.

An appeal was adopted today by the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Soviet to servicemen in military units, formations, and associations of the armed forces deployed on the territory of the Ukraine and beyond its boundaries. It says that decisions to create a Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, its armed forces, and a republican

guard are not aimed at lowering the combat readiness of the troops. Such decisions pursue a humanist aim: not to allow the use of troops against the people of Ukraine and other sovereign states.

'Unofficial' USSR Reaction

OW0309150591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has appointed Maj.-Gen. Konstantin Morozov, an air force army commander [title as received], to the post of the Ukraine's first ever defense minister. Last week the Supreme Soviet Presidium transferred all armed forces on Ukrainian territory to the republic's jurisdiction. Asked by IF's [INTERFAX] reporter to comment on Gen. Morozov's new appointment, an officer of the USSR Defense Ministry in Moscow made an "unofficial" statement drawing attention to the fact that similar processes are under way in other republics as well: Russia, for instance, has appointed its own defense minister too. The officer said the national Defense Ministry still does not see any threat of the Soviet Armed Forces splitting into republican branches. "If there is such a threat at all, it concerns largely the land troops," he noted. According to the officer, giving the Ukrainian defense minister's post to an air force army commander does not mean that the air force divisions deployed on Ukrainian territory are automatically transferred under the republic's control.

Ukraine, Soviet Army Discuss Transfer of Control

LD0109024791 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Today, a meeting took place at the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine (?with the managers) of the subunits of the Soviet Army stationed on the territory of the Republic. Discussed was the transfer of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Army stationed on the territory of our Republic to the jurisdiction of Ukrainian parliament.

Also discussed was the issue pertaining to the location of nuclear strategic forces on Ukraine's territory. As is known, proclaimed in the declaration on state sovereignty of Ukraine are the four nonnuclear principles, which our Republic will observe.

As stated by the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, nuclear weapons will be trasferred from Ukraine's territory to the Russian Federation.

'Underground' Central Committee Plenum Held

PM0309120791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Tsikora report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Underground Central Committee Operating"]

[Text] Kiev—A sensational report about the holding of the first underground plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has been carried by the republic's newspapers.

An account by one of its participants was carried in KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA. I took responsibility for all the organizational efforts in staging the illegal Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, K. Vashko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, admits. The plenum set up a group of USSR and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies who will defend in the parliaments the interests of party members and their families and the Communist Party's very existence. Stanislav Hurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, did not show enough self-possession or calmness during the plenum. However, I hope that in the future he will find the inner strength to continue his leadership of the party. The threat of arrest hangs over many members of the Ukrainian Communist Party leadership.

Soon, I think, a terror campaign against Communist Party figures will begin, Vashko said further. I have already been threatened twice. However, I am prepared to work and I will work in any conditions, even illegal conditions. I declare that the party is alive and it will operate. The time will come when it will declare itself in full voice. If its activities are going to be stopped completely, most likely we will organize an action group to create a new party—eschewing the mob's salami and sausage slogans and enaging in more serious work on communist ideology.

Rukh Nominates Presidential Candidate

OW0309053591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Lvov regional council Vyacheslav Chernovil has been nominated the presidential candidate of Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] in the Ukraine. The decision was made by the great council of the movement on Sunday. There was a choice of three candidates. 57 members of the council gave preference to Chernovil. The chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukyanenko got 23 votes and the leader of the official opposition in the Ukrainian parliament Igor Yukhnovsky 10.

The direct elections of the Ukrainian president are scheduled for December 1. They will coincide with a referendum on the declaration of independence passed by the Ukrainian parliament a new days ago.

Rukh Holds News Conference on Situation

LD0209110391 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Report by Serhiy Sysyn on news conference held by the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka, Rukh, "yesterday"; place not given]

[Text] At present the situation at the Ukrainian legislature is that official and final decisions of the Supreme soviet and the Presidium correspond in many aspects to the position of the People's Movement [Rukh]—the former opposition, as it now appears. Even under such circumstances, Rukh leaders consider it necessary to hold a news conferences and acquaint people with their point of view and their attitude to events and decisions. Their respect for journalists and for the desires and requests of electors, quite a few of whom come to such news conferences every day, may not be the least of the reasons behind that. This time the people's deputies focused the attention of those present on issues connected with achieving real independence and informed them about the latest resolutions adopted by the Presidium, mainly economic resolutions. Much was also said about setting up national armed forces and about the attitude to them. In this connection a meeting of Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, with the commanders of troops that are deployed in the republic was mentioned. I will dwell on this subject in more detail and will now suggest that you listen to several fragments of speeches by the participants of the news conference. Oleksandr Ivanovych Yemets, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Yemets recording] What I would like to point out is: first, there is an understanding that the Ukraine is heading toward independence and the problem of the Army will have to be solved. This understanding could be heard in practically all the speeches. In some there was more of it, in some less, but it was in practically all of them. Some representatives are already prepared to settle the issue of subordination to the Ukraine now. Quite a constructive discussion of those problems that will appear during the reorganization of the armed forces was held. In principle, the majority supports the option 81 which it is necessary to preserve the system of collective security, to conclude a military strategic treaty on a military strategic union, and at the same time form the republic's own armed forces. The understanding of this already exists and, in fact, even the discussion of the technology of this process has already started. We turned—I mean Kravchuk did—to the military and then we had a conversation with them separately and talked about it as well and asked them to prepare a complete technical and economic substantiation of how such reform can be carried out. They agreed, in principle, to do that. The fact that there should undoubtedly be a minister of defense, who will now head the process of this reformation, was also agreed on. This sort of conversation took place although the position of chief of staff was somewhat different and was a little out of tune with the position of the commanders of military districts in the Ukraine. [end recording]

Mykhaylo Mykolayovych Horyn, Ukrainian people's deputy and first deputy chairman of the Rukh:

[Begin Horyn recording] If we want to create an army, we have to create this army not only at the level of generals, but also at the level of soldiers, [and at that level] there are Ukrainians and those who came from other republics. People say the process of migration is to start. Representatives of other republics will go back to their states very soon. I would like them to leave the Ukraine carrying in their hearts the impression of the Ukraine as bright, kind, democratic, and humane. [end recording]

Igor Rafailovych Yukhnovskyy, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Yukhnovskyy recording] I want to say that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet are resolved to help in every way to improve the material situation of the army and to put the army, especially the Ukrainian national army, under the guardianship of the people. [end recording]

Bukovina Romanians Ask For Recognition

AU3108152891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/8/1991—The "Mihai Eminescu" Society for Romanian Culture in Cernauti [Chernovtsy] presented to the regional Soviet of Deputies a motion asking the local administration to recognise Romanian as the official language in the territory of Cernauti region and the tricolour as the national symbol for the Romanian population, and the Ukraine officials to restore one-time public buildings in Cernauti to their owners—public and cultural associations of the Romanians in north Bukovina.

The document was handed over by a delegation comprised of Alexandrina Cernova, president of the society, Eugen Patras, executive vice president, and Dr. Grigore Bostan, member of the board.

An answer to the claims made in the name of the over 200 thousand ethnic Romanians who live in north Bukovina is expected on 17 September when the regional Soviet of Deputies meets in session at Cernauti and the text of the motion is to be discussed.

Crimean Leader Defends Actions at Legislature

LD3008160291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] is working in Simferopol. The building, which housed the former Revolutionary Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, where the session is being

held, is surrounded by militia and special purpose troops. Demonstrators gathered around the building with Russian and Ukrainian flags, the flags of the Crimean Tatars, and also with posters calling for the resignation of the soviet of Ministers and the Crimean Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Demonstrators demanded that a permanent Supreme Soviet of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic be formed, instead of the Crimean Oblast Soviet, which temporarily performs its duties.

At the session the deputies who are members of the Democratic Crimea Bloc raised the issue of the resignation of the full Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean ASSR for its support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. A total of 10 members of the Presidium resigned before the vote took place. The issue of the resignation of the remaining members of the Presidium will be decided by a roll-call vote.

Nikolay Bogrov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean ASSR, stated in his speech that Leonid Kravchuk got in touch with him only on the afternoon of 21 August. Bagrov also stated that President Gorbachev was not ill, and Bobrov knew this.

Then Bagrov told about the events in the Crimea on 19-21 August. According to him, on 19 August communications were cut on the peninsula. On the same day, Bagrov was asked to introduce a state of emergency on the territory of the republic, but after a consultation with Kravchuk, Bagrov refused to do it. On 21 August, via the channels of the Interior Ministry, Bagrov received an order to force a plane to land that was carrying a group of automated machine operators on their way to visit the USSR president at Simferopol airport and detain them. When he found out that it concerned a Russian delegation and after a consultation with a chairman of the Crimean ASSR Council of Ministers, Bagrov did not obey this order.

Then the chairman of the Crimean ASSR Supreme Soviet told the deputies that he was firmly convinced that the secession of the Ukraine from the USSR is premature and hasty. He voted in favor of seceding from the USSR at the session of the Ukranian Supreme Soviet only because it was decided to put this issue to a referendum.

Supreme Soviet Supports Leader

LD0109041491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Simferopol, 29 August (TASS)—An extraordinary session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet, which is discussing the situation in the autonomous republic since the anti-Constitutional coup, opened here today.

The Crimea found itself in the epicenter of these dramatic events. And the fact that matters have not reached the point where a state of emergency has had to be imposed on the peninsula is, deputies believe, thanks to the leadership of the ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] who at that moment urged the population and visitors at the resorts to show restraint and calm.

The "Democratic Crimea" group of deputies has a different view on this matter. Accusing the Supreme Soviet Presidium of indecision and passiveness, it has demanded its resignation.

The first question to be discussed was that of confidence in Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman Nikolay Bagrov. When he took the stand he was subjected literally to a cross-examination which lasted for more than an hour. Voting by name was then carried out, which showed that the majority of deputies believe that the chairman was deserving of complete confidence.

Presidium Members Ordered To Resign

OW3008125591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Opposition members in the parliament of the Crimean autonomous republic failed in their efforts to induce the parliament's chairman Nikolay Bagrov to resign. At the emergency session that opened on Thursday they motivated their demand with N. Bagrov's support for the conspirators expressed in statements over radio and TV in Simferopol. During voting only 40 deputies out of 174 backed the call for his resignation.

In the meantime, according to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent, the session relieved his two deputy chairmen of their duties to pacify public opinion in the Crimea, and ordered all members of the parliament's presidium to resign.

Russian Delegation Gets 'Mixed Response'

LD0109045291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Our correspondent Vladimir Sokolov reports from Kiev that the results of talks between representatives of Russian and Ukrainian parliaments, with the participation of a delegation from the country's Supreme Soviet, have receive a mixed response in the Ukraine. The Presidium of the Republican Supreme Soviet called upon political parties, movements and organizations to consolidate for defending the Ukraine's independence. The Rukh [Ukrainisn People's Movement for Perestroyka] leadership made a statement expressing concern over Russia's imperial attitudes and an older brother complex. The Kiev City Komsomol committee has sent a message to Presisent Yeltsin protesting, the message says, against attempts to bring the Ukraine back under Russia's fraternal tutelage.

Trade Union Group Supports Independence

LD0109000991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Federation Council of Independent Trade Unions of the Ukraine has released a statement condemning any attempts at pressure in connection with the proclamation of the Ukraine as an independent and sovereign democratic state. The Presidium believes that statements of certain leaders of Russia with regard to the reexamination of existing borders are groundless. Unethical statements in the mass media about the people of the Ukraine are offensive.

The Presidium stands for the unification of all democratic forces in establishing a sovereign state. The statement adds that economic achievements resulting from the efforts of all workers, peasants and intelligentsia will guarantee the success of the Ukraine as an independent state. The Presidium called on working people of the Republic and members of trade unions for unity and accord in the name of the Ukraine.

Moldova

Dispute Over 'Dniestr Republic' Continues

Snegur Criticizes 'Agitation'

AU0309201791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1747 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/9/1991—In a statement for the press, Moldovan president's spokesman accused the separatist leaders in Tiraspol, capital of the so-called "Dniestrian Republic", of "causing further agitation, trying by all means to maintain the anti constitutional structures they have set up."

Claiming that minority rights were violated in the Republic of Moldova, said the spokesman, the separatist leaders call to strike and threaten the rest of the republic with economic embargo.

"Moldova has firmly taken the road of democracy. No matter how many hardships we have to overcome, the leadership of the republic will do its best to solve them all through dialogue, it will do its utmost to prevent the outbreak of a fratricide war."

Prime Minister on 'Electrified' Situation

LD0309211991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1516 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev, 3 Sep (TASS)—Valeriy Muravskiy, prime minister of Moldova, described the situation in the Dniestr region as "electrified." As reported by Aleksandr Tanas, correspondent of the MOLDOVA-PRES agency, the prime minister stated today at a meeting of the government that if the Moldovan leadership did not fulfill the demands put forward by the Dniestr region then "the republic would be totally blockaded." The chief demand, he recalled, was freeing the arrested deputies and also setting up a commission to regulate the situation.

Valeriy Muravskiy noted that currently the work of the major railway junctions in Tiraspol, Benderiy, and Rybnitsiy, which handle freight from the southwest part of the country, was blocked. At an emergency meeting of the Ministry of Transportation, which was also attended by leaders of the administration of the Moldovan railway and leaders of departments concerned with supplying the Moldovan national economy with electricity and gas, the decision was made to supply fuel and raw material via the railway station of Oknitsa—the northern gateway of the republic. The head of the government stressed that in the event of the supply of electricity to Kishinev and the central regions of the republic being cut off, the losses in the national economic complex could reach 20-30 percent.

The prime minister condemned the use of an economic blockade for political aims. "I consider," said Valeriy Muravskiy, "that economic sanctions could lead to even greater confrontation, and not to the stabilization of the situation."

In the current situation when cutting off the electricity supply is possible, the prime minister called on the leaders of all the ministries and departments to be at their posts and not to allow the situation to get out of control.

'Dniestr Republic' Proclaims Independence

AU0309173791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/9/1991—ROMPRES special correspondents inform that on September 2 the so-called Dniestr Republic celebrated a year of phantom existence by a meeting organized in the Central Square in Tiraspol attended by several thousands people, the majority of them women brought by buses and vans from their workplaces.

The square was adorned with hammer-and-sickle greenred Dniestr flags as well as with placards written in Russian reading "Long live the Soviet Socialist Moldovan Dniestr Republic."

The president of the Supreme Soviet of that "republic", Maracuta, announced the proclamation of the independence of the Soviet Socialist Moldovan Dniestr Republic and showed that that "republic" was ready to recognize the independence of the Republic of Moldova provided that—in its turn—Moldova recognized the Dniestr Republic. "We have nothing against Moldova's union with Romania, the speaker said, if this is Moldova's wish, because they have the same roots, speak the same language, are the same nation."

Asked about the "anniversary" and contesting actions in the so-called republics, the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircha Snegur, asserted they represented the last breath of the separatists who had no longer any chances.

Government Considers Situation

OW0309181191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 3rd the Moldovan Government discussed the situation in the Dniestr region (Pridniestrovia).

According to the republic's Prime Minister, Valeriy Muravskiy, the authorities in the "illegally formed (Dniestr) republic" had issued Kishinev an ultimatum: if by 3rd September the Dniestr leader, Igor Smirnov, and several other republican deputies of varying ranks have not been released, the aforementioned authorities would introduce economic sanctions against Moldova.

Mr. Muravskiy said that a railway blockade at Tiraspol and the cutting off of electricity supplies, which would hurt the central regions of the republic, would have the most detrimental effects. The Dniestr region is capable of cutting off 30 percent of Moldova's electricity needs.

The Moldovan Government has stressed that in the event of a blockage it is ready to take appropriate measures.

Meanwhile, Valeriy Gravbov, a Tiraspol City Council deputy, has told an "INTERFAX" correspondent that the Dniestr region has not as yet introduced any sanctions against Moldova. He announced that this evening (September 3rd) a Dniestr (Pridniestrovia) delegation had left for Kishinev to meet with President Mircha Snegur.

As "IF" [INTERFAX] reported earlier, women from the Dniestr region are today continuing the blockade, begun yesterday, of Moldovan railway lines at Tiraspol, Rybnitsiy and Benderiy stations.

Women Resume Railway Blockade

OW0209212991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Women activists in Tiraspol resumed the blockade of the city's railway station on Monday afternoon to press the demand for the immediate release of the head of the Dniestr Republic' s Supreme Soviet Igor Smirnov and a group of other people' s deputies of various levels. They urged women in the city of Rybnitsiy to join their action.

On Sunday, several thousand women picketed the Tiraspol railway station for 6 hours.

On Monday, a congress of people's deputies from various parts of the Dniestr Republic decided to introduce economic sanctions against Moldova as of 8 am on Tuesday, unless I. Smirnov and his comrades are released by Monday midnight. The sanctions decision is based on the fact that the greater part of gas and electricity supplies to Moldova flows across the Dniestr area, and the Moldovan raliway runs across it, too.

'Alarming' Reports on Situation

LD0309171291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Alarming and contradictory reports are being received from Moldova and the Dniestr region. Our correspondents report from Kishinev and Tiraspol.

[Radu] On 2 September, the so-called Dniestr-Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic [PMSSR] anounced the convocation of its corps of deputies. It was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the proclamation of this formation, which no one has yet recognized. However, I think that there is another reason: the need to take bearings in the new realities, when the powerful support from the center has weakened, when the Dniestr region has ceased to be a trump card in the cause of binding Moldova to the Union treaty, and when the leaders of the new formation besmirched themselves by supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE], and, in general, when the hope of preserving a microreserve of orthodox socialism has become pretty illusory in fast- changing circumstances.

The Congress gathered to discuss the Constitution of the PMSSR in the absence of roughly one quarter of the deputies—and this is also a typical sign of the changes taking place.

In the view of our observers, the actions of the Dniestr region's separatist leaders and their supporters are increasingly distinguished by feverishness and despair. This assessment is also highlighted by their blocking of railway communications to Kishinev, and the demand that Igor Smirnov, the president of the so-called PMSSR, who was arrested for assisting the putschists, be released.

The president of Moldova, responding to a question on his attitude to the events in the Dniestr region, described what is happening as the agony of separatism, and called on the inhabitants of Moldova not to attach too much significance to this issue, but to get on with tackling matters relating to the economy and the independence of the republic. Anatol Radu from Kishinev for Radio Rossii.

[Marakutse] The authorities of the Republic of Moldova have started, on the territory of the Dniestr region, to arrest and imprison innocent people—People's deputies both of the republic and city and rayon people's deputies. This is being done in such a crude manner; accusations are being advanced that these deputies by their

actions are allegedly damaging the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Moldova, and that in the Dniestr region [passage indistinct] These arrests have led to people rising up at meetings, the fourth Congress of People's Deputies of all levels has been held, which [passage indistinct] the declaration on the independence of the Dniestr region republic has been confirmed. Other decisions, appeals, and resolutions were submitted to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the leadership of the Republic of Moldova, which protest against these illegal actions being undertaken here, and where, on the demand of the deputies, the question is posed with regard to the immediate application of economic sanctions against the Republic of Moldova.

In particular, women have been blocking all railways—they have been siting on the rails for two days now—and unfortunately, not only is Moldova suffering from these actions, but the Dniestr region itself is suffering. Moreover, I will tell you that the danger is such that both the Supreme Soviet and the Government is now reproaching us for tardiness, that we are not taking steps...[changes thought] Various self-defense detachments are being set up.

I feel that we should be an independent republic. This is what our people determined and proclaimed as an independent republic within a single state with all other republics, and enjoying equal rights. Grigoriy Stepanovich Marakutse, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dniestr-Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic.

Negotiations on Leader Stall

LD0309133591 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 3 Sep 91

[By TASS Correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev September 3 TASS—Pickets, demanding the release of the Dniestr independence leader, Igor Smirnov, and a group of deputies backing him, continued blocking the railroad in Tiraspol.

Deputy chairman of the Tiraspol city hall, Vladimir Rylyakov, told TASS that the attempts by city authorities to talk the pickets out of their deleterious pursuit were of no avail. He said the situation was becoming uncontrollable and prompted the need for tough measures, up to cutting electricity and gas supplies to the republic.

In order to defuse the tension, Rylyakov said, negotiations were started with the leadership of Moldavia on the release of the arrested deputies from custody.

However, these talks have also stalled. The Moldavian leadership was asked to release the arrested people on condition they promise in writing not to leave the city and order the investigation into their alleged allegiance to the last month coup leaders in Tiraspol.

"The railroad blocks have already caused considerable economic damage to the republic as a whole, including Tiraspol. It can be further exacerbated if tension spirals fuelled by unlawful activities of the Dniestr rebels," deputy chairman of the Moldavian parliament, Viktor Pushkash, told TASS.

According to him, responsibility for this should be taken by Tiraspol secessionist organizers.

Blockade Continues

OW0309140091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, women activists in Tiraspol, Benderiy and Rybnitsiy are continuing to block railway junctions. They began their action on Monday to press the demand that Igor Smirnov, the leader of the unilaterally proclaimed Dniestr republic, and a group of his comrades be released from prison in Kishinev. Women in Tiraspol picketed the local railway station for 6 hours on Monday. Reports about the introduction of economic sanctions against Moldova as of 8 am today remain unconfirmed. (The Dniestr republic threatened to stop the flow of gas and electricity supplies across its territory to Moldova.) A member of the Dniestr republic's Supreme Soviet, P. Zalozhkov, has told IF [INTERFAX] over the telephone that the special commission on anti-Moldova sanctions is yet to finalize its decision. Yesterday, the Dniestr Supreme Soviet's press spokesman Valeriy Litskay told IF that the sanctions may be imposed one of these days.

Dniestr Leaders Withdraw Power Cut Threat

LD0409092891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Text] The leaders of the so-called Dniestr republic, where most of the population are non-Moldavians, have decided not to carry out their threat to cut off gas and electricity supplies of the Republic of Moldova.

After talks in Kishinev the delegation of the republic, which has proclaimed its independence from Moldova, said that on returning to Tiraspol it will try to convince the demonstrators to end the blockade of the railway.

It has been staged by a group of women in protest against the arrest by the authorities of Molodva of the leader of the Dniestr republic, Igor Smirnov. He is suspected of having supported the anticonstitutional putsch.

The head of the security organization of Moldova Viktor Berlinskiy said Smirnov could be released from custody if he agrees to help the investigations.

Gagauz Deputies Demand Release of Leaders

LD0309172991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev, 3 Sep (TASS)—At a routine Congress, Gagauz deputies decided to maintain the decision of the

19th August 1990 Congress of People's Deputies of all levels. In an interview with a MOLDOVA-PRES AGENCY correspondent, Nikolay Stoyanov, deputy chairman of Komratskiy Rayon Executive Committee, stated that "Gagauz deputies have responded with understanding to the decision by the Moldovan parliament with regard to proclaiming the republic's independence. At the same time, a resolution adopted by the Congress notes that the Gagauz people reserves the same right."

The forum decided to appeal to Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova, and Aleksandr Mosanu, chairman of the parliament, demanding "the release of Stepan Topal, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic, and Mikhail Kendigelyan, his deputy, who have been illegally abducted". As previously reported, the leaders of the anticonstitutional Gagauz Republic were arrested by the Moldovan Republic's police for openly supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

Talking about the development of the situation, Nikolay Stoyanov, deputy chairman of Komratskiy Rayon Executive Committee, said: "The Congress has formed a commission which is authorized to hold talks with the Republic of Moldova. As regards the supreme body of authority, the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic, it is currently headed by Georgiy Kalchu".

The Congress of Gagauz deputies of all levels has formed a Gagauz Republic delegation which has left for the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies in order to "report to Congress the illegal arrests in the Gagauz Republic".

According to Nikolay Stoyanov, the situation in southern parts of Moldova is troubled at present.

Actions Against Dniestr, Russian Press Noted

PM0309112991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 2

[N. Prikhodko report under the general heading: "The Speed of the Collapse Is Equivalent to the Force of the Moral Decline..."]

[Text] Kishinev—At first the representatives of Moldovan law-enforcement organs made a blunder: They broke down the wrong door at night. The neighbor of V. Yakovlev, rector of Tiraspol State Corporative University and one of the leaders of the Dniestr republic, and his wife, who did not understand what was going on since they were only half-awake, were given a slight "going-over." In the morning they came back to rectify the blunder and arrest Yakovlev, but the tenants did not let them. The professor is still at large.

Yesterday Tiraspol voiced sharp indignation over everything that has happened; 12 Dniestr deputies are already under arrest. Demands are being voiced for their release and for that of I. Smirnov, chairman of the Dniestr Supreme Soviet, who was arrested in Kiev. (He was "taken" by Moldovan police personnel and carted off to some unknown destination). During the discussion some deputies proposed "shutting off the railroad to Kishinev, turning off the gas and light, or going on strike." The upshot, however, was that they have still not decided to adopt strong-arm measures. They resolved to greet their holiday 2 September—Dniestr Republic Day—in a fitting fashion. Provided, of course, that Kishinev does not get in the way.

In the Moldovan capital Russian-language publications are still shut down despite the appeal from the Moldovan Journalists' Union to the republic leadership asking for publication to be resumed. It is being said that SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA, the organ of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, will be used as the basis for publishing a government newspaper VESTNIK MOLDOVY [Moldova Herald] under the leadership of the notorious Ye. Zamura, in whom the SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA collective recently voiced no confidence "due to her violation of the norms of professional ethics."

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia: Western Recognition 'Soon'

OW0209153891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1444 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia has told the CNN televsion network that the West is sure to recognize his republic's independence soon. Now that the center has ceased exerting pressure on Georgia, freedom is quite feasible, Gamsakhurdia said.

In reply to a question about interethnic conflicts in Georgia, Mr. Gamsakhurdia said they stem from Moscow's attempts "to fan separatist sentiments among the Ossetians and Abkhazes."

The Georgian leader urged his Western colleagues to give Georgia economic aid. He said the republic "is in a very difficult position and on the verge of famine."

Gamsakhurdia Calls Gorbachev 'Political Corpse'

OW3008153891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview for German TV given on Thursday Georgia's President Aziad Gamsakhurdia declared that Mikhail Gorbachev is a political corpse. According to him, he doesn't understand why George Bush, John Major and other Western leaders are seeking to reanimate the USSR President.

Z. Gamsakhurdia also declared that after the suppression of the coup in Moscow a union treaty is out of the question.

Amonashvili: No on Union Treaty

LD0309220891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Georgia will not sign the Union treaty because it wants to leave the Union, a correspondent of the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY was told by Shalva Amonashvili, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In his opinion, the other republics will act in the same way, and this was a natural process. But the deputy expressed confidence that Georgia would remain in the same economic space as the future Union. On the ruins of the empire a community should arise similar to the European one, Shalva Amonashvili added.

President Bush Criticized on Union Treaty

AU0309065391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 9 Aug 91 p 1

["Statement by the Government of the Republic of Georgia"—date not given]

The people of Georgia and other peoples of the Soviet Union who have been enslaved for many decades, those who have preserved the faculty of common sense and a sense of justice have had one great hope: There exists a Western free world whose bastion is the United States and this world is struggling and will continue to struggle for the establishment of the pure ideals of justice, freedom, and democracy throughout the world. Of course, there were individual events that gave rise to certain doubts: Munich, Yalta, the deportation of Soviet prisoners, that is to say their transfer from the concentration camps in Germany to the Soviet Union, and others but all this was in the past and they have been interpreted as constituting unpleasant exceptions and, accordingly, as bitter lessons from which the appropriate lessons have already been drawn.

Unfortunately, grounds for doubt have again arisen in recent years; the view has often been felt in the position of governing circles of the West and, in particular, the United States, in their statements and pronouncements, that it is in the interests of the Western countries to preserve the Soviet Union as one state. We, as far as we have been able, have tried to explain that this will be disastrous not only for the countries that are part of the Soviet Union but it will be extremely dangerous also for the whole world as the Soviet Union is in no way a union in the form of a voluntary association but an empire, that is to say an association built according to a vertical structure and based on violence, one into which all states have been incorporated by force, and if this force continues it cannot fail to result in an explosion, perhaps a catastrophic one. We have been emphasizing that much that is positive has occured in the process called "perestroyka": the deliverance of the Eastern European countries from slavery, the unification of Germany, and so forth but the most important thing—the total collapse of the imperial totalitarian structure of the Soviet Union and, in particular, its transformation on new democratic and legal principles—has not taken place. This is giving rise to the most acute political, economic, and legal crisis which can only be solved in one way—by bringing the crisis that has begun to an end. All the states conquered by the empire should be given a freedom of choice. It cannot be said that this position has been incomprehensible and unacceptable to everyone in the West. It is shared by many representatives of Congress and the administration in the same United States. However, unfortunately, Mr. President and, accordingly, the people closest to him from the highest echelon of government have assumed the opposite position. Of course, this position has far from made us happy and has even given rise to certain doubts regarding the sincerity of their official slogans such as "The Struggle for Democracy and Freedom." However, at the same time, we couldn't help thinking: What can one do? Politics is politics; there are opposing interests and one cannot always act in the way that one wants. However, Mr. Bush's recent visit to Moscow and Kiev exceeded all expectations. The US President, the succesor to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and others, arrives in the

empire and agitates in favor of the Union treaty; he urges the enslaved countries to voluntarily tie the imperial noose around their necks, sign a treaty on eternal slavery, and give up their most holy right—that of freedom. We repeat that we are not so naive and we know that morality is often alien to politics but, after all, everything has its limits. The President has welcomed the imperial center that, in practice, has not carried out any progressive reform and that, from time to time, tramples in blood the actions of freedom-loving peoples; he calls those republics, that, in spite of their extremely oppressive inheritance and surroundings, are struggling to establish democracy and justice, despotic. Of what kind of morality can one speak when one of the most ancient states in the world—presently enslaved Georgia, its people, its ancient original culture—is refused independence and free development; a people who over a thousand years have struggled against their conquerors, who adopted Christianity in the 4th century and who, in spite of the greatest cataclysms, have not renounced it; a people whose best sons and daughters, in particular young girls, were killed by sappers' shovels and choking gas on 9 April 1989; a people who were the first in the Soviet Union to attain the right to hold multiparty elections in the most difficult struggle and who defeated the Communist Party in this struggle; a people who elected a parliament and president and, in a universal referendum, voted in favor of the restoration of the independent state whereas the parliament elected by the people is adopting democratic laws on citizenship, the protection of foreign investments, the legalization of private entrepreneurship, privatization, and others and has joined the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Such unceremonious interference is a severe blow for all who believed that America was struggling for freedom. However, we are not losing heart as we know that there are very many ordinary Americans—businessmen, politicians, military men, whites, and blacks—for whom "freedom" is not an empty word.

After all, didn't Mr. Bush state that his country is struggling for the liberation of little Kuwait and, in so doing, is defending high principles? The question arises: Why, in this case, did he not see separatism? Or can it be that Kuwait or Saudi Arabia are more democratic countries than Georgia that has a government elected by the people? Why didn't Mr. Bush urge Kuwait to sign a union treaty with Iraq? After all, in the final analysis, don't the peoples of Iraq and Kuwait have a lot more in common (one nation, a similar culture, and so forth) than Lithuanians, Georgians, Russians, and the Kirgiz? If, in the war in the Persian Gulf, the whole progressive part of mankind, including Georgia, supported the just position of the United States, the propaganda of preserving the Soviet Union has led to the representatives of the Ukrainian opposition not wishing to meet with the president of the most powerful state in the world!

Mr. Bush calls the struggle for freedom and self-determination of the peoples who have been enslaved by the Soviet Union "dangerous manifestations of nationalism." However, his words contradict the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement according to which each nation is guaranteed the right to decide its own fate, that is to say the right to self-determination. Isn't it the same as calling the struggle of the American people for freedom against English domination in the 18th century "dangerous nationalism" and "separatism?!" The question arises: Why do the American people annually celebrate Independence Day if all this is superfluous for peoples?! Or, why, to this day, have all US presidents, without exception, sympathized with the struggle of enslaved peoples for independence?

We would wish the president and government of the United States not to support Communism, tyrany and mock reforms but to support true democracy, freedom, and the independence of nations. Only in so doing will America remain faithful to its historical mission.

Democrats Demand Gamsakhurdia's Resignation

OW0309194191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian National Democratic Party organised a demonstration in Tblisi on Tuesday afternoon to demand the immediate resignation of Georgian President Gamsakhurdia and the republic's parliament.

A similar meeting on Monday was broken up by the police. The Georgian president's press service announced that as a result, 21 policemen and 4 demonstrators received injuries, including gun-shot wounds. The National Democratic Party has declared a general hunger strike in response to these events. The opposition claims that Gamsakhurdia has no right to remain in power after what has happened.

In an interview with an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent one of the organisers of the demonstration, Irakli Tsereteli, stated that over the next few days the opposition would do all it could to ensure the removal of the president and his colleagues from office.

Meanwhile, the president's press service has issued a press release stating specifically that the National Democratic Party has on several occasions resorted to unconstitutional activity "for example, the mass disorder and armed excesses, organised in Tbilsi at their behest on 2nd September".

The statement also declared that the "leadership had quashed and will quash in future all such anti-constitutional activities".

Protesters Demand Resignation

OW0309135091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's opposition National Democratic Party (led by Georgiy Chanturia) held an unauthorized rally in Tbilisi's Rustaveliy Square on Monday night. The protesters (according to various estimates, 300-1,000 people) demanded the Georgian president's resignation, dissolution of parliament, and freedom of the press. The city's OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detatchment] unit attempted to disperse the crowd by firing shots into the air, but only "warmed up" the protesters who then marched on the republican TV center and demanded air time for an address to the people. The demand was turned down. President Zviad Gamsakhurdia appeared on TV on the early hours of Tuesday morning to accuse the opposition of "messing up the political situation in the republic" and to label the rally organizers as "Kremlin agents." He said protesters had been the first to open fire on the police, whose bullet-proof jackets with bullet traces would be displayed to the public. Georgia's Interior Minister Dilar Khabuliyani told journalists that nearly 30 policemen had been seriously injured during the incident in Rustaveliy Square. President Gamsakhurdia's press service says 21 policemen and 4 rally participants received various injuries, including bullet wounds. One policeman is in an intensive care ward now. Meanwhile, IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that another rally is scheduled in Tbilisi for tonight.

IZVESTIYA Reports Clashes

PM0409082791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Urigashvili report: "Clashes on the Streets of Tbilisi"]

[Text] Tbilisi—On Monday evening there were clashes outside Tbilisi's Cinema Center between the republic OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] and participants in a rally organized on the initiative of the Georgian National Democratic Party.

At least five people were injured and OMON men have also been wounded. According to the official version from law-enforcement organs, the clashes were provoked by the demonstrators themselves, who stoned the militia, and shots were heard from the mob. The OMON was forced to use weapons to defend itself. However, numerous observers and journalists present at the rally claim that the OMON men started firing first. One of the injured was taken to hospital with a serious bullet wound to the lung area.

Despite this, the rally still took place. Speaking there, Nodar Natadze, leader of the Georgian People's Front and cochairman of the "Democratic Center" parliamentary faction, placed all moral and legal responsibility for what happened with the republic's incumbent leadership. Then the demonstrators, numbering roughly 15,000, moved toward the Georgian television building. Irakliy Kadagishvili, one of the leaders of the Georgian National Democratic Party, said that this was to force the television station, controlled by the authorities, to broadcast objective information about events. At 2135 local time both Georgian television programs, along with republic radio, stopped broadcasting. At that time several opposition representatives were at the television station trying to reach agreement with the television station's leadership on their appearing on air. But they failed in this.

The television relay resumed after midnight. Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia issued a statement. He said that the incident was inspired by enemies of Georgia and Kremlin agents to make it difficult for Georgia to gain recognition in the international arena. According to Gamsakhurdia, he had a meeting with U.S. congressmen who are currently visiting Tbilisi and they said that demonstrators are punished in any country of the world for blocking traffic on cities' main routes. The Georgian president named the main "instigators and agents" of the Kremlin as Georgiy Chanturia, chairman of the Georgian National Democratic Party; Revaz Chkheidze, movie director; Nodar Natadze, leader of the People's Front; and Congressman Georgiy Khzindrav. He also said that Chanturia had issued an ultimatum—for the president to resign and go to Cuba with his family.

Gamsakhurdia voiced confidence that the Georgian people would give the traitors and instigators their just deserts. Then the OMON men's bulletproof vests bearing traces of bullets were shown on television. There were interviews with several bandaged special-purpose fighters. They said that they were carrying out orders and were forced to open preemptive fire to defend themselves. A spokesman for the prosecutor's office then said that criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of this matter and all the culprits will get the punishment they deserve.

The opposition is planning a protest action in Tbilisi on Tuesday. According to Chanturia, the rally will be held in spite of everything:

"We are not afraid, even if guns are fired at us."

Clash Reportedly Blocked

LD0309041291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] We all remember the tragic events in Tbilisi in April 1989. The whole country mourned the victims of that bloody Sunday. And now again blood has been spilt on the streets of Tbilisi. Here is Yuriy Melikhov with the details:

[Melikhov] According to Georgiy Zumbadze, an official representative of the National Democratic Party of Georgia, and confirmed by independent sources in Tbilisi, an anti-government rally was fired on in the Georgian capital during the evening of 2 September. Those taking part in it were demanding the resignation of the president and Supreme Soviet of the republic, whom they accused of lack of competence.

Georgiy Zumbadze said that the rally was scheduled for 1830 local time at the Cinema House. But representatives of the town militia administration appeared at the headquarters of the National Democratic Party of Georgia during the day and demanded that the rally be transferred to Victory Park. Otherwise, they said, the rally would be broken up. The organizers did not agree to the demand.

Before the rally started, a special purpose detachment of the Georgian National Guard armed with truncheons and shields tried to break up the crowd, but they met with resistance. Then shots were fired at the rally from automatic weapons. Four people were wounded, and many of the demonstrators were beaten up, including elderly people and women. Among those injured was Akakiy Babasidze, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the republic from the Democratic Georgia bloc.

The RIA agency reports that unarmed militiamen, on duty to maintain order, tried to defend the crowd.

According to information we have received from the memorial legal protection center, the Tbilisi special purpose detachment started to act seriously when the speaker Georgadze accused Zviad Gamsakhurdia of cooperating with the putschists. But the sound of the shots had the opposite effect, says the information. Many townspeople joined the demonstrators. Detachments of the militia closed off the approaches to the Parliament House. At 1940 the main body of the rally moved towards the television center, demanding that a video recording of the events that had occurred be shown.

The speeches by Nodar Natadze, the representative of the Georgian People's Front, and Irakliy Karagashvili, representative of the National Democratic Party, were recorded. But the television programs were halted, and the refusal to broadcast the recordings explained as technical difficulties.

According to unconfirmed information, an official version is being prepared, saying that 21 militiamen were beaten up by people at the rally. Unfortunately, we do not yet have information from the Georgian leadership. As soon as we get it, we shall inform you of the view of the president and Government of Georgia about the events.

South Ossetian Leadership 'Goes Underground'

OW0309183491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A team of TV reporters who had visited Tskhinvali told an IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in Vladikavkaz that beginning from Tuesday the South Ossetian leadership goes underground after the Georgian Prosecutor General Vakhtang had ordered their arrest. The TV reporters referred to the present Chairman of the South Ossetian regional executive committee Znaur Gassiyev (former Chairman Torez Kulumbegov was arrested by the Georgian authorities and currently is held in prison in Tbilisi).

According to Gassiyev, a 5,000-strong Georgian national guard force has been drawn up in the suburbs of Tskhinvali. Gassiyev says they are expected to launch large-scale operations in a few days.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Expects Pro-Independence Vote

LD3108042591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1136 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Aug (TASS)—The referendum planned for 21 September on the question of Armenian independence will ensure a "firm legal and political basis for the establishment, recognition and development of the future state republic". This is discussed in a statement of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet published here today. The statement notes that the Armenian Supreme Soviet has resolutely embarked on the path of the creation of an independent state. After the collapse of the coup d'etat in the USSR a qualitatively new situation has come about. The victory of the democratic forces and the people of Russia has served as a powerful stimulus to overcome totalitarianism and to disrupt attempts at restoring dictatorship. A number of Union republics have announced their resolve to secede from the USSR, independently of the results of the Union-wide referendum carried out on their territory. It is the opinion of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet that this once more confirms the correctness [vernost] of the political course of the leadership of the Republic with regard to the Soviet Union and the Union treaty. The document expresses confidence that on 21 September the Republic's population will come out in favor of an independent Armenia.

Ter-Petrosyan Views Congress, Nagorno-Karabakh

NC0309183991 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Interview with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, by Karo Atayan during a recess of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 3 September—recorded]

[Text] [Atayan] Do you think the declaration signed by (?you) and the leaders of the other republics is the only way out, the only solution, to the present grave situation?

[Ter-Petrosyan] There can be no Union constitution and no Union legislation. The republics will become subject to international law and members of the United Nations. [Words indistinct] in adopting this declaration we are not creating a [passage indistinct].

[Atayan] Will this be the last congress?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Probably. (?I cannot imagine how the congress or the USSR Supreme Soviet can regain power) [words indistinct].

[Asayan] How was the news from Nagorno-Karabakh about [words indistinct] received here, and what is your personal assessment of [word indistinct]?

[Ter-Petrosyan] From the legal point, I do not pin great hopes on it. I stress the word legal. I do not pin much hope on this decision from the legal viewpoint, for we have made many such decisions for the last three and a half years. Still, it has some significance from the political viewpoint in that the Nagorno- Karabakh problem was again raised alongside other current problems in the Soviet Union and [words indistinct]. This is particularly the case now that the union, Russia, and Kazakhistan have offered to mediate in the problem to find a solution. This declaration will help speed up the (?efforts) toward a solution. Therefore, from this angle it is a positive development. It is a political act and hence is significant politically.

Communist Party Property Nationalized

LD3108165191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1617 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, 31 Aug (TASS)—The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has made a decision to completely nationalize all of the property of the Communist Party of Armenia and to freeze its bank accounts. The Supreme legislative body has also declared the republican Communist Party's share in the property of the CPSU to be the property of the Republic of Armenia. A resolution published here today makes provision for the nationalization of party archives and their transfer to the Republic's state archive. The republican Foreign Ministry has now received the city party committee's building.

The Communist Party of Armenia is currently preparing for its last congress, or rather for the concluding, fourth stage of the 29th party congress, which is scheduled for 7 September. It has been announced that it will make a decision to dissolve the party. Meanwhile, a group of Communists has announced the intention to create a new party.

TASS Cites Mitterrand's Concern Over Armenia

LD0109020491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1601 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan, Aug 31 (TASS)—France is following events in the Caucasus with particular attention, said French President Francois Mitterrand in a letter sent to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia in answer to a message from Levon Ter-Petrosyan. The leader of the Armenian parliament had appealed to the heads of the G-7 group on the eve of their London meeting in connection with the worryisome situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

From the very beginning of these events we have officially demanded from the authorities of the USSR information about the actions of the Soviet troops in the conflict over Nargorno-Karabakh, writes the French President. France is continuing to follow very attentively the situation in Armenia and is sparing no effort to demonstrate to the Soviet authorities its faithfulness to the principle of the peaceful settlement of border conflicts and the problems of minorities and strict respect for human rights, says the document from the French head of state, which has been published here today.

Azerbaijan

Supreme Soviet Deems Nagorno Republic 'Invalid'

LD0309222591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 3 Sep

[By TASS-AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Text] Baku, 3 Sep (TASS)—The Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet has deemed legally invalid the decision taken by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Soviet of People's Deputies, which has lost its powers, on creating the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic. The Supreme Soviet considers this a political provocation, a hostile act against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the national interests of the Azerbaijan people. This act has been declared invalid on the territory of the republic.

The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs, KGB, procurator general, and the republican organizational committee on the NKAO have been instructed to take legal measures to stop the violations of the Constitution and the laws of Azerbaijan and any attempts to implement this illegal act.

The republican organizational committee on the NKAO has been instructed to intensify its work on normalization of the situation in the region, moving from confrontation to dialogue between the Armenia and Azerbaijan communities of the autonomous oblast; together with the law-enforcement organs of the republic, the most serious measures should be taken for preventing armed interethnic conflicts. The Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet has appealed to the people of Azerbaijan and calls on them to demonstrate patience and calm and to pit the civilian accord and consolidation of all political forces and movements against the attempts to destroy the republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Rally Supports Supreme Soviet Decisions

LD3008220391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today's work of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet may be called historic. [passage omitted] A resolution has been adopted calling for the formation of a national self-defense force.

In the evening many deputies took part in a thousands-strong rally on what used to be Lenin Square. By a decision of the city's authorities, this has been renamed Azadlyg Square. The monument to the leader of the revolution has been removed already.

Representatives of the intelligentsia and the clergy, and of labor collectives from Baku and of the whole of Apsheron, stated their complete support for the decisions of the parliament and for the course of Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov.

It was noted at the rally that the black January of last year will never happen again. The people of Baku will not allow that tragdy to recur.

The need to hold direct presidential elections as planned on 8 September 1991 was also noted. [video shows parliament delegates applauding; deputies addressing auditorium; rally where participants are shown holding placards with Azerbaijan and Russian slogans]

Communist Party Decides To Leave CPSU

NC3008201891 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held a plenum on 28 August. Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, made a political speech on the coup attempt in Moscow. Later, a discussion was held. A decision was adopted for the withdrawal of the Azerbaijan Communist Party from the CPSU framework. The plenum considered the information given by Ayaz Mutalibov on his withdrawal from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and on the withdrawal of the Azerbaijani memebers of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. The plenum also adopted a decision to hold an extraordinary congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party in September. The congress will examine matters related to the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

People's Front Announces General Strike

LD0309130791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] A Radio Moscow correspondent has reported from Baku that Azerbaijan People's Front has announced a general strike in the republic beginning today. But whatever industrial enterprise responded (?to) a phone call it said that the personnel was at work.

People's Front demands the disbandment of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan and cancelling presidential elections in the republic due on 8th September. Our correspondent believes that the announcement of the strike is an indication that the struggle for power is intensifying in the republic.

Kazakhstan

President Issues Independence Decrees

OW0309024791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has issued a decree placing all industries in the republic's territory authorities under republican jurisdiction. He also issued decrees to form Kazakhstan's gold and diamond reserve and to ensure the republic's independent foreign economic activity.

Decrees Boost Sovereignty

PM0309155591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Kazakh President's Decrees"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—President N. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has issued several decrees aimed at further strengthening the republic's sovereignty.

They include decrees on the transfer of state enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction situated on Kazakhstan's territory to the control of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] government, on supporting the republic's autonomous foreign economic activity, and on creating a Kazakh gold reserve and diamond fund. Decrees have also been published on forming new republican state structures—a Ministry of the Press and Mass Media, a State Committee for Youth Affairs, and a Ministry of Tourism, Physical Culture, and Sport, as well as appointing leaders of those departments. The new Kazakh SSR minister of the press and mass media is Kuanysh Sultanov, previously chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee's Ideology Department.

PRAVDA Cites Rutskoy, Nazarbayev on Borders

PM0109211991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent G. Dildyayev report: "The Whole Night Through"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Kazakh and Russian delegations worked virtually the whole night through. I personally read out the communique of the results of the talks and then took a breath. Thank God, we had made the obvious point: The borders are inviolable. That is, we effectively confirmed our loyalty to the relevant articles of the bilateral treaty concluded last November and initialed in Alma-Ata literally the day before the putsch.

Answering numerous insistent questions from journalists, A. Rutskoy explained that Russia's position on borders with a state leaving the USSR is only a matter of demarcating these borders in accordance with international regulations. Nothing more. The border between Kazakhstan and Russia, for instance, is now symbolic.

Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev, expressing satisfaction at the results of the talks between two such closely connected republics, stressed the need to immediately begin talks on possible mutually acceptable forms of cooperation between all members of the former Union without exception.

Nazarbayev Meets Former British Prime Minister

LD0109093491 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0818 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Mrs. Thatcher stopped off in Central Asia early today for talks with Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev on the future of the Soviet Union.

"Nazarbayev is now one of the leaders who can unite the union," Mrs. Thatcher told reporters after the hour-long meeting just after midnight at the airport in Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev, one of the strongest supporters of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's new union treaty until the failed coup, now says it is too late to salvage the union. Kazakhstan has signed a pact with the giant Russian republic to respect their current borders, make joint military decisions and join an economic cooperation system with other republics. Ten of the 15 Soviet republics have declared independence but Kazakhstan, the second largest republic geographically, is not one of them.

The former prime minister was flying to Japan for a three-week lecture tour and stopped in Alma-Ata, to refuel and meet Nazarbayev, said Makhambetof Nour, a reporter at the ASIA PRES news agency. Mrs. Thatcher told reporters that after the coup, she saw Nazarbayev as one of the strongest politicians in the Soviet Union. Nazarbayev told reporters he hoped the contacts with Mrs. Thatcher would prompt Western companies to turn their attention to Kazakhstan. He said he had telephoned Gorbachev to tell him of the planned meeting with Mrs. Thatcher.

Earlier there had been confusion over reports by the independent INTERFAX news agency that Mrs. Thatcher would go on to Moscow after visiting Alma-Ata but the British Embassy in Moscow said it knew nothing of such a visit. If it happened it would raise the possibility that she would arrive on the same day as Prime Minister John Major, who is making a short official visit today on his way to Beijing.

Praises Nazarbayev

LD0109034991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0330 GMT 01 Sep 91

[Text] Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has been to Alma-Ata on a brief visit en route

to Tokyo. At the airport she was met by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

At a small news conference Thatcher noted that she had flown to Alma-Ata especially to meet the president of the Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic. In her words, Nazarbayev is a politician who is capable of uniting the Union and is taking practical steps in this direction. For his part, Nazarbayev declared that this meeting will help to draw attention to the Republic on the part of foreign companies and firms, with which Kazakhstan intends to conduct direct cooperation.

Cooperation Talks With Russia Urged

OW3008164291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia and Kazakhstan pointed to the need of joint actions aimed at preventing an uncontrolled disintegration of the USSR. This is stated in a joint communique on the results of talks in Alma Ata between the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Russia's Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi.

The two sides believe that to maintain the system of livelihood and ensure normal economic functioning in the period of transition it's expedient to form interim management structures joined on the basis of equality by the interested members of the former union.

The Russian Federation and Kazakhstan invited members of the former union regardless of their present status to begin to draft an economic agreement between them at once.

The document also says that the KGB and interior ministry departments located in sovereign states should be subordinate solely to the government bodies of those states. The order of dual subordination of the Soviet armed forces stationed in sovereign states should be determined with a view to precluding the possibility of their use for unconstitutional purposes. The Russian Federation backed Kazakhstan's decision to shut down the nuclear test site in Semipalatinsk.

The two sides intend to build their relations on the principles of equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. They'll refrain from using force, economic leverage or other instruments of pressure, and settle all disputes by peaceful means. They confirmed their mutual commitments in regard to human rights and territorial integrity of both sides.

The Russian Federation and Kazakhstan expressed their resolve to carry out together with other sovereign states a coordinated policy of radical democratic reforms in all areas of public life.

Participants in the talks called for creating a new union on the basis of equality, and urged all members of the former union to enter into talks on the feasible and mutually-acceptable forms of a commonwealth of free sovereign states.

Kyrgystan

Supreme Soviet Adopts Independence Declaration

LD0309190891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration of independence of the republic. The session has also adopted a law on nationwide elections for president of Kyrgyzstan, which are to take place on 13 October.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Issues Decree on Election

LD0309133191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] A decree of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet on holding elections for the post of president of the Republic of Tajikistan states that the election for president of the Republic of Tajikistan is to be held on 27 October, 1991. The committees of the state and legislative organs, [word indistinct] legal affairs and human rights of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan have been instructed to prepare a draft law on the election of the president of the Republic of Tajikistan within a week and forward it for the examination of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Supreme Soviet Changes Republic Name

LD0309132191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The decree of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet on changing the name of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and entering the change in the Constitution, the basic law of Tajikistan, states that the Tajik SSR from now on will be called the Republic of Tajikistan. In accordance with Article one of this law, the Constitution of Tajikistan, the name Republic of Tajikistan will be substituted for the Tajik SSR.

Turkmenia

Party To Quit CPSU; Backs Niyazov Stance

PM0309154791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Correspondent M. Volkov report under the "Around the Country" rubric: "One More"]

[Text] The Turkmen Communist Party is leaving the CPSU, a plenum of the local Central Committee declared on accepting the resignation of members of the

Central Committee Bureau. It will henceforth be an independent party—true, after the next congress. Communists supported the decree adopted by President S. Niyazov of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] on the departyization of state and law-enforcement organs, the Armed Forces, the KGB, and the education and training sphere. The efforts of the Turkmen SSR president during the difficult days of the putsch were also approved. When he convened a conference of representatives of military units back on 19 August, the latter gave an assurance that they would be guided by the sovereign republic's interests, by S. Niyazov's instructions, and by no one else's.

On the same day, on the orders of the Turkmen SSR president, Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB organs blockaded air, rail, sea, and river routes, as stated at the plenum, "to prevent persons who might represent in one way or another the interests of the State Committee for the State of Emergency from infiltrating the republic."

Uzbekistan

Communist Party Severs Links With CPSU

PM0309134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Andrey Orlov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "I. Karimov Disagrees With M. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Tashkent—At a joint plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission in Tashkent, a decision was made to sever all links with the CPSU Central Committee and withdraw from all CPSU structures.

The plenum stated that the Uzbek Communist Party and its leading organs completely dissociate themselves from all the abuses, distortions, and criminal activities of former leaders of the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo, and Central Committee Secretariat. The republic Communist Party must become an independent political organization capable of assuming responsibility for the fate of its members and the future of the republic and the people.

Addressing the plenum, I. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, said in particular:

"I categorically disagree with the decision made by M. Gorbachev. Of course he is entitled to announce his resignation as CPSU Central Committee general secretary. But to speak of the self-disbandment of the party and the fate of its belongings and property—that must be resolved either by a plenum or by a party congress."

The whole range of questions connected with the republic Communist Party's future activity will be examined 14 September at the extraordinary 23d Uzbek Communist Party Congress.